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Bosses, gov't, are preparing major wage freeze offensive

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labor Challenge
15 cents
Vol. 1, No. 1
Feb. 9, 1970

In defense of NDP left caucus

page 6

BERTRAND RUSSELL, world famo
British thinker and fighter for peac
died February 2 at age of 97. In co
years, Russell became a symbol
civilized humanity's outrage at U
imperialism's genocidal assaults
against the Vietnamese revolution.

labor
Challenge

Editor: JOHN RIDDELL

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labor Challenge

Vol. 1, No. 1

February 9, 1970

Who we are, what we want

This is the first issue of **Labor Challenge**, an independent labor-socialist newspaper published biweekly. With editorial offices in Toronto, we intend to carry news and analysis of interest to Canadian socialists and labor activists from across the country and around the world.

Many readers of this issue of **Labor Challenge** will be former readers of the **Workers Vanguard** which has ceased publication. The publishers of **Labor Challenge** have purchased the subscribers lists of the **Vanguard**, and those persons will receive as many issues of **Labor Challenge** as they were entitled to through their **Vanguard** subscription. **Labor Challenge** is applying for the reduced-rate second class mailing rights which the daily newspapers and many other commercial publications continue to enjoy.

Labor Challenge will carry forward a long tradition of Socialist journalism in this country. The editor and publishers of **Labor Challenge** believe there are unprecedented opportunities now opening up for the ideas of revolutionary socialism — in particular, the development of a mass left wing in the New Democratic Party, the growing movement for women's liberation, the inspiring national upsurge in Quebec, the student struggles, and the developing antiwar, anti-imperialist movement.

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Labor Challenge Vol. 1, No. 1, — Feb. 9, 1970

In Toronto

New socialist center

TORONTO — Over 200 members and friends of the League for Socialist Action and the Youth Socialists packed the new hall at 334 Queen St. W. here on the night of Jan. 31 to celebrate the opening of Toronto's socialist center. In addition to the spacious hall, as yet unnamed, the building contains the cross-country and local offices of the LSA and YS, as well as a bright, attractive Vanguard bookstore

This is the seventh headquarters since the Second World War for Toronto's socialists, who have always been just one step ahead of the construction developers and wreckers in their repeated moves around the downtown area, commented Ross Dowson, who is executive secretary of the LSA and its Quebec counterpart, the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière. The impressive renovation and appearance of the hall, which still showed signs of fresh paint and some unfinished decorations, reflects the "will, the determination, the restlessness and the dynamism of the forces in the LSA-YS" and their capacity to meet the tasks ahead in the struggle for socialism in Canada, Dowson said as he officially opened the hall.

Featured speaker of the evening was George Novack, America's foremost Marxist scholar and a leading member of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party. His topic, The Science of Revolutions and the Art of Making Them, seemed particularly suited to this auspicious event. Tracing an historical overview of the class forces involved in successive revolutionary epochs and how those forces were analyzed and understood by the theorists of revolution of their day, from Aristotle to Trotsky, Novack emphasized the necessity for today's proletarian revolutionists to be armed with a fully developed consciousness of the laws of class struggle in order to triumph against the powerful and oppressive forces of world imperialism which are centered on the North American continent.

Marxism or scientific socialism, he said, alone of all contemporary theories of social change, has succeeded in analyzing the central contradictions of capitalist society — the growing conflict between the expanding forces of production and the obsolete relations of production — and from that analysis formulated a strategy for revolutionary progress. It is the success of Marxism in exploring and explaining the qualitative leaps of social history, Novack said, that puts it far beyond the writings of spokesmen for previous revolutionary classes, who were "more descriptive than profoundly analytical."

photo by White

A view of the crowd at opening of Toronto's socialist center. George Novack speaking, with Jacquie Henderson and Ross Dowson seated at right.

The paramount task of the century, Novack asserted, is to go not from the Earth to the Moon, or even to Mars, but from capitalism to socialism. But for socialism to triumph, it would need above all the conscious intervention of a movement of practicing socialist revolutionaries. The foremost models of organization and program for that movement could be found in the experiences of the Bolshevik party in 1917-24 and Leon Trotsky's "crowning contribution", the transitional program.

Socialists in Canada, too, "must be prepared for events on the scale of France in May-June 1968". Canada, which passed in a relatively "cold" way from colonial to independent political status, had been spared the trials and triumphs of revolutionary upheavals, in part because the ruling class, aided by the general backwardness of social relations here, had adapted to and incorporated the lessons the capitalist revolutions of in the United States and Britain. "Canada has been a historical hitch-hiker on these revolutions."

Novack noted signs that this country's prolonged period of "reform based on class compromise" was coming to an end — most notably, in the conjunction of belated national democratic revolution i Quebec with the proletarian socialis revolution in the making there. He cor cluded with a stirring appeal to th audience to become part of this growin revolutionary movement by joining an building the LSA and YS.

Jacquie Henderson, executive secretar of the Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeune Socialistes, spoke of the importance of th new headquarters for the YS/ LJS, th largest socialist youth movement i Canada, which this month celebrates it tenth anniversary.

The evening concluded with an informa party and sing-song in the hall.

labor Challenge

Vol. 1, No. 1, Feb. 9, 1970

Labor must mobilize

Roll back anti-labor attack

by Paul Kent

Representatives of Borden's Milk will be in attendance at the Trudeau government's Canadian Prices and Incomes Commission confab at Ottawa over February 9 and 10.

They were one of three dairies that hoisted the price of milk in Toronto on February 2 another one cent a quart. Consumers Affairs Minister Basford asked them to cancel the increase as an anti-inflation measure on the very eve of this so-called anti-inflation conference. Borden's through their vice president Kenneth Gordon, as a matter of fact, told Basford, "We've already made our move."

But Borden's assured the minister that they would be at the Ottawa meeting along with another 249 business spokesmen to discuss their contribution to the fight against inflation.

And of course they will be there. The aim of the conference is clear. It is designed to launch a massive co-ordinated campaign to turn the mounting popular anger against continuous price rises, away from big business and its feverish profit gouging, away from the government and its mounting tax gouging, and against labor — against the unions which are fighting to protect the working peoples' interests by winning wage increases.

The big dairy interests have already showed their hand. The president of Donlands, as his company jammed the cent a quart increase into its already bulging pocket, warned that they are out for another two cent boost this summer. And he took a swipe at his employees attempting to negotiate a wage increase.

With the Trudeau government conducting, throughout the mass media which they completely control, big business is out to really launch its anti-labor campaign from Ottawa.

The essential ugly form of this policy has been cynically revealed by Trudeau himself. It is unemployment. Restrain the struggle for wage gains, necessary to make up for price hikes already in force, by increasing the number of those without work! Increase the numberof the poor and desperate outside the gates of the factories to intimidate those working.

Already in force, this policy has resulted in bringing the number of unemployed across the country up to 383,000, or 4.7 percent of the work force. The December figure in the Atlantic provinces stood at 7.2 percent, and in Quebec at 6.7 percent. This month the Canada wide figure is expected to jump from 4.7 percent of the work force to 6 percent or more.

Supplementary to this is the drive to halt the rising pressures for increased social services, for better welfare for the poor and the aged, for improved health services, for a vast program of public housing that would curb the ruthless rent gouging by the real estate interests.

And lying in wait on the sidelines are the custodians of the law, preparing new anti-labor union-busting legislation to add to their already overstuffed arsenals.

The top brass of the Steel workers, the Auto workers, the Canadian Labor Congress and the provincial federations of labor have rejected Trudeau's appeal that labor should impose on itself a freeze against further wage increases. What else could the Steel leadership do in the face of the extreme difficulties they had in imposing this fall's contract on their membership at Stelco, Algoma and Inco?

The Steel leadership even suggested a powerful counter program — but they have in no way developed it into a counter strategy — when they challenged Trudeau to force the steel corporations to open their books to public examination. The figures that they already had at their disposal showed that not wages, but unbridled profit-gouging by such giant corporations, is a major factor in price hoists.

It is not excluded that such labor giants as Auto will be able to mobilize sufficient power to overcome the big business — Ottawa propaganda assault on their members and to win new wage increases. But what about the smaller unions which are an important part of the 1.2 million workers whose contracts are now up for negotiations? And how is the total anti-labor drive with all its ramificatons to be met? It is apparent that only a counter policy worked out by all labor organized on a coordinated basis will be capable of turning back the Trudeau — Big Business assault and carving out a way forward for the working class.

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OTTAWA. League for Socialist Action, Young Socialists, 365½ Bank St., Ottawa 4, 232-1054. Carleton U. Young Socialists, c/o Students Council, Carleton.
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RICHMOND HILL. League for Socialist Action, Box 281, Richmond Hill, Ont.
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GUELPH. Guelph U. Young Socialists, c/o Betty-Jane Sinclair, Apt. 205, 105 Water St., 821-2367.
KITCHENER. Workers Vanguard, Box 921, Kitchener, Ont.
KITCHENER-WATERLOO. Young Socialists, c/o Laurel Stuart, 2 Clarence Pl., Kitchener.
LONDON. c/o Steve Harding, 1462 Trafalgar, 451-8252.
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labor Challenge Feb. 9, 1970

'Commonwealth' slanders NDP socialist grouping

Vol 1 No. 1 2/70

by Anne Macdonald

A most intriguing piece of "journalism" appears in a recent issue (Jan. 21) of *The Commonwealth*, the twice-monthly Saskatchewan NDP newspaper. The article, a Cooperative Press Association dispatch from Toronto, purports to be a report of the left or "Waffle" caucus meeting there in mid-December.

Headlined by the *Commonwealth* editors "Waffle Supporters Consider Becoming Splinter Group," the article refers to the supporters of the Watkins Manifesto as "the professor's supporters," as if they were some sort of personality cult rather than a group rallying around a particular set of ideas.

"The Waffle group surfaced," we are told at the recent national NDP convention (like a sinister underground plot?) around a "manifesto" (the quotation marks are CPA's) that was "attacked by unionists and older party members as anti-American." The insinutation that Waffle supporters are simply immature, middle class intellectuals is clear.

The report says that "several speakers condemned unionists in he party as 'bureaucrats' and 'conservatives.' " In fact, the references were to trade union bureaucrats; and while there is indeed some confusion among Waffle supporters about the role of trade unions, in this context — which was a discussion of how the Waffle group can win support in the labor base of the NDP — the comments were quite just.

The main insinuation of the CPA-*Commonwealth* article that the Waffle supporters as a group are hostile to the NDP — is threaded through the article in such statements as that the meeting "'debated whether they should remain a part of the NDP or strike out on their own" (this latter view was advanced by only a few persons, and was rejected by the majority of participants), and in the emphasis the article places on the resolution opposing expulsions from the party on the basis of ideas.

This resolution, which in fact arose from the case of four NDP members charged with membership in the League for Socialist Action (two of them have since been expelled), is depicted as a motion supporting members linked with "Communist organizations and local Communist groups."

NDP members might well ask just what purpose an article like this serves in the official party press. It is of no help whatsoever in understanding what happened at that meeting. Apart from the obvious slanders, there is no mention of the activities projected at the meeting, in particular the important decisions to set up workshops to involve NDP members in labor, tenants, women's and policy issues.

It is nothing more than an undisguised attempt to smear the left with the same method of distortion which has been consistently used against revolutionary socialists in the party like the Trotskyists for many years.

It is another indication that the NDP right wing, which controls the party press through its control of the party's administrative apparatus, is not interested in a wide-open honest presentation of conflicting views within the party, that it fears to meet the left in open confrontation on the basis of their respective views.

What kind of press does the NDP need? A press that is honest, accurate, and open to all views in the party. That is why it is of vital importance for every NDP member, whatever his or her position in the great left-right debate, to seek an end to such dishonest practices in the party's publications.

 Vol. 1, No. 1

Pioneer socialist Max Armstrong

1883 - 1970

Maxwell Armstrong, an historic figure of the Canadian labor and socialist movement, died on January 30 at the age of 86, following a rapid decline in health over the last year.

Armstrong was a member of the founding executive committee of the Communist party of Canada, together with Jack MacDonald, Maurice Spector, Tim Buck and Malcolm Bruce. When Spector, the CP's leading theoretician, was expelled in 1928 for supporting Leon Trotsky in his fight against the Stalinization of the Communist International, to be joined shortly after by the CP executive secretary MacDonald, Max Armstrong had already uneasily withdrawn from activity. But he, too, as did Bruce later, came to identify himself with Trotskyism.

At the time of his death, Armstrong was a lifetime honorary member of the New Democratic Party and, as a Marxian socialist, a member of the League for Socialist Action.

Armstrong emigrated to Canada from Glasgow, Scotland, in 1907. He became a member of the International Association of Machinists while working in the Montreal CPR Angus Shops. *Cotton's Weekly* convinced him of the case for socialism and he joined the Social Democratic Party of Canada in 1912.

He was a vigorous opponent of Canada's involvement in World War I and became known as one of the SDP's most popular and effective street corner speakers. The Russian revolution and the ideas of Lenin and Trotsky convinced him of the need for a revolutionary socialist party and he became a leading participant in all the activities that led to the founding of the CP in 1921. Shortly afterward, he moved to Montreal where he was active in the Montreal Labour party which affiliated to the CCF when it was founded in 1933.

When World War II came to a close he was on the staff of the Textile Workers union and active in Toronto municipal politics as a CCF candidate. It was the postwar revolutionary upsurge in France and Italy, betrayed by the Communist parties, and its continued rise across the colonial world that led Armstrong to join with the Canadian associates of the Trotskyist Fourth International.

A memorial meeting for Max Armstrong will be held in Toronto on Friday, February 6, 8 p.m., at 334 Queen St. W. The next issue of *Labor Challenge* will contain an appreciation of Max Armstrong by Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere.

Launch B.C. labor daily now!

labor Challenge
15 cents
Vol. 1, No. 2
Feb. 23, 1970

Tribute to Max Armstrong

An exemplary working class militant

The following is based on a speech delivered by Ross Dowson at the Vanguard forum in Toronto on February 6th in commemoration of Maxwell Armstrong who died in Toronto on January 30.

The death of Maxwell Armstrong snapped the last living link between the new generation of revolutionaries coming to and already joined in the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere and their predecessors who launched the revolutionary socialist vanguard movement in Canada.

Max was one of a valiant group of men and women who, under the inspiration and lessons of the great Russian revolution in 1917, led by Lenin and Trotsky, prepared and actually organized the first Leninist or Bolshevik formation on Canadian soil — the early Communist party. Max was one of that core which included Jack MacDonald, who became the organizer and chairman of the new formation, Maurice Spector who became the party's leading theoretician and journalist, Malcolm Bruce, William Moriarity, Florence Custance, Jack Kavanaugh and Tim Buck. The Stalinist bureaucracy which rose on top of the isolated Soviet state and transformed the parties of the Communist International into pawns in its diplomatic maneuvers found Tim Buck as its agent in the Canadian party. The rest who remained active in the struggle found their way to Trotskyism.

Spector, along with James P. Cannon of the U.S. party, first rallied to Trotsky's side in 1928. They were shortly joined by MacDonald. Following World War II Armstrong, who had drifted off but never out of the working class movement, found his way back and along with Malcolm Bruce joined the forces of Canadian Trotskyism. Kavanaugh, who had gone to Australia in the early twenties, played a leading role in the building of the Trotskyist forces there.

Max Armstrong was a tireless propagandist of the Marxist outlook all his adult life. As soon as he grasped these basic ideas he joined in the struggle to build an organization capable of realizing working class power. This became the focal point of his entire life.

Max came to Canada in 1907 from Glasgow, Scotland at the age of 23 years — a lace maker by trade. Contrary to all the capitalist propaganda that socialism is an alien idea brought into Canada by foreigners Max became a socialist on the basis of the experiences he gained in this country at the turn of the century. He became a unionist while working in the Angus shops in Montreal and a convinced socialist by reading the Quebec-published Cotton's Weekly.

PIONEERS. Max Armstrong was a founding member of Communist party. In this photo from 1920s, some of his fellow leading comrades confer. From left, William Moriarity, Tim Buck, Jack MacDonald, and Maurice Spector.

Not only did Max find in Marxism the answer to the day to day problems confronting himself and his class, but he firmly grasped the materialist concept of history. Marx's discovery of the objective laws governing the development of the system of social relations rooted in the conditions of the material forces of production fascinated the youthful Armstrong and he became a profound student of the history of all peoples of all times — an interest which he maintained and developed right up to his last days.

Max joined the Social Democratic Party of Canada in 1912 and soon became known as one of its most effective street corner speakers and lecturers. The outbreak of World War I found Max and a handful of his comrades standing side by side with Debs, Leibknecht, Luxemburg, Lenin and Trotsky in opposition to the war. These Canadian internationalists opposed the war with every strength at their command as the fumes of chauvinism cut into their movement and finally isolated them.

The Russian Revolution became not only a source of great inspiration for Max and his comrades but also a matter of most profound study. Max joined with other revolutionists across the country in response to the appeal of the Third International to gather the forces for the organization of a Leninist or vanguard party here.

By 1920 Maurice Spector, Florence Custance, Max, and others in Toronto, had organized what they called the Ontario Labour College. The organization assumed this modest name because of the repressive legislation, Section 98 passed by Ottawa to defeat the Winnipeg General strike.

This group carried on a running struggle with the Socialist Party of Canada, the Independent Labour Party, the Industrial Workers of the World and the One Big Union, to win cadre. It established close working relations with the United Communist party of the United States. It soon fused forces with the Workers Educational Club in which Jack MacDonald, a popular union militant, William Moriarity and a Mrs. Knight were leading activists.

Then came the publication of the

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revolutionary socialist press. The first issue appeared under the name *Workers World*. The second, dated October 15, 1920, appeared and continued for the whole next period, under the name *Workers Guard*.

The first issue of *Workers Guard*, carried as its lead article a report of a meeting on unemployment held at Queen's Park. While the list of speakers was impressive, including Moriarity, MacDonald and James Simpson who was later to become mayor of the city, considerable space was devoted to Max Armstrong who, the reporter noted, "was in his usual form, imperturbable and convincing." The same issue announced a special week-long course to be given under the auspices of the Montreal Labour College by Max Armstrong.

The Nov. 5 issue carried an editorial calling for the formation of a workers party, the character of which was outlined in the subsequent Nov. 19 and 26 issues.

This party was founded by a conference of 51 delegates held in the Labour Temple, Toronto on December 11, 1920 with Jack MacDonald as chairman. Max's speech, as reported in the December 17 issue, was largely an attack on illusions that the workers state in Canada could be established by parliamentary means. This conference proved to be the first major step towards the convention which was called by MacDonald in the name of the provisional committee of the Workers Party of Canada and held in a barn outside Guelph early in 1921. Max was chosen by his comrades to be on the founding executive committee.

After playing a leading role in the gathering of the cadre to make this qualitative turning point in the development of the Canadian socialist revolution, Max left the center for Montreal and dropped into relative inactivity. He played no role in the titantic struggle led by Spector and MacDonald against the Stalinization of the relatively inexperienced forces that had rallied to what became known as the Communist party, either in the period when they sought to reform the party or when they gave up that perspective and commenced the struggle anew under the banner of the Workers Party and as part of the forces who had answered the call issued by Trotsky for the formation of the Fourth International.

But Max never left the broad arena of the politicization of the Canadian working class. He became active in the Montreal Labour party which subsequently affiliated to the CCF when it was founded in 1933. The end of World War II found him on the staff of the Textile Workers union and active in Toronto municipal politics as a CCF candidate.

It was the postwar revolutionary upsurge, betrayed by the Communist parties in Italy and France, and its continued sweep into the colonial world that brought Max back into contact with the forces that had continued the fight that he had earlier helped initiate.

It was Max's profound confidence in the working class that caused him to maintain his connections with the CCF and then the NDP which honored him with a lifetime membership. But it was his knowledge that the Canadian socialist revolution could never be won with such a primitive instrument as the reformist CCF and NDP, but required a Marxist-Leninist party, that caused him to join the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere.

The rising radicalization of the youth was a great source of satisfaction for Max. Now well into his eighties, he enjoyed talking to youth who commenced to come around the Young Socialists/ Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. When his health took a sudden relapse last year and he was confined to a nursing home and then hospital he persistently expressed great impatience to return to these circles. He was "impatient to smell once again the aroma of the revolution," as he put it to one of his visiting comrades.

The Canadian revolutionary socialists dip their banner in tribute to Max Armstrong who died at 86 after an entire lifetime devoted to the cause of the Canadian and world socialist revolution. But they do so only to raise it again on high, inspired and gratified to have known this man who embodied all that was the best in the Canadian working class and confident as was he of the approaching victory of the Canadian socialist revolution.

Stop Trudeau-U.S. deal to sellout natural resources!

labor Challenge
15 cents
Vol. 1 No. 3
March 9, 1970

By Ross Dowson

The Americans are coming. But it's not the Black Panthers! They are being gunned down in the streets of northern U.S. cities.

And it's not the organizers of the AFL-CIO or the independent unions. James Hoffa remains in jail.

It's the managerial staffs, the high paid bureaucrats of the U.S. corporate elite, of the super-rich who own the giant corporations that dominate the U.S. and who encircle the globe with their imperialist tentacles.

So what's new? The U.S. capitalist class already have controlling interests in the most strategic sectors of the Canadian economy--and have taken over 600 firms since 1962. And besides that, the U.S. government with the full agreement of the Canadian government regulates the activities of these subsidiaries in such key policy areas as transfers of capital, mergers, acquisitions, taxes, and — by no means least — exports to such countries as China, which it considers an enemy.

What is new is that President Nixon has decided to mobilize all the forces at his disposal to work out, and conclude within the next 12 to 14 months, a vast "energy package" with the Canadian capitalist class and their government in Ottawa. Washington has decided to realize "an integrated North American energy package" that would cover construction of pipelines through Canada to bring Alaskan oil south, international power grids exploiting the energy potential of Canada's northern rivers, joint development of natural gas deposits, joint expansion of coal reserves, and possibly even water.

There will be development, of course. But what we are headed for is a giant sell-out — another sell-out of the country's vast natural resources. What hasn't already been looted, ravaged and destroyed, in collusion with capitalist governments at all levels by the giant railway, mining,

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GIANT SELLOUT of Canada's vast untapped n
projected U.S.-Canadian "integrated North A

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...Resources sellout

(continued from page 1)

fishing, lumber and industrial interests since the northern half of the American continent was opened up for capitalist exploitation--is now on the block.

New technology, newly discovered materials (e.g. oil in Alaska), the pressures of vast accumulations of surplus capital, the insecurity of its imperialist holdings in the face of the rising revolutionary struggles in the Third World, and the apparent better political and military security of investments, makes the natural resources of Canada particularly attractive and necessary to the U.S. capitalist class.

Another by no means unimportant pressure is the fact that the vast and precious resources within the confines of the U.S. have been ruthlessly squandered by these same corporations and are now in short supply.

The Canadian capitalist class through the Trudeau government are all set to get in on the deal, as partners--junior partners to be sure. Trudeau attempted to quiet the alarm expressed by Carleton university students with an appeal not to adopt a "dog in the manger attitude", not to get "carried away by the territorial imperative." He defended his policy as one of protecting Canadian resources "for the benefit of this country and of all mankind." As if the interests of the Canadian people, or the working people of the United States, or mankind in general, have figured at all in the resources give-aways of his government and the capitalist governments that preceded his.

Trudeau's latest claims are just as fraudulent as his attempts to justify his government's complicity in the U.S. genocidal war of aggression in Vietnam as being in the interests of the Canadian people, and Canada's adherence to the U.S. dominated NATO-NORAD military alliances as being in the interests of the Canadian people and all mankind.

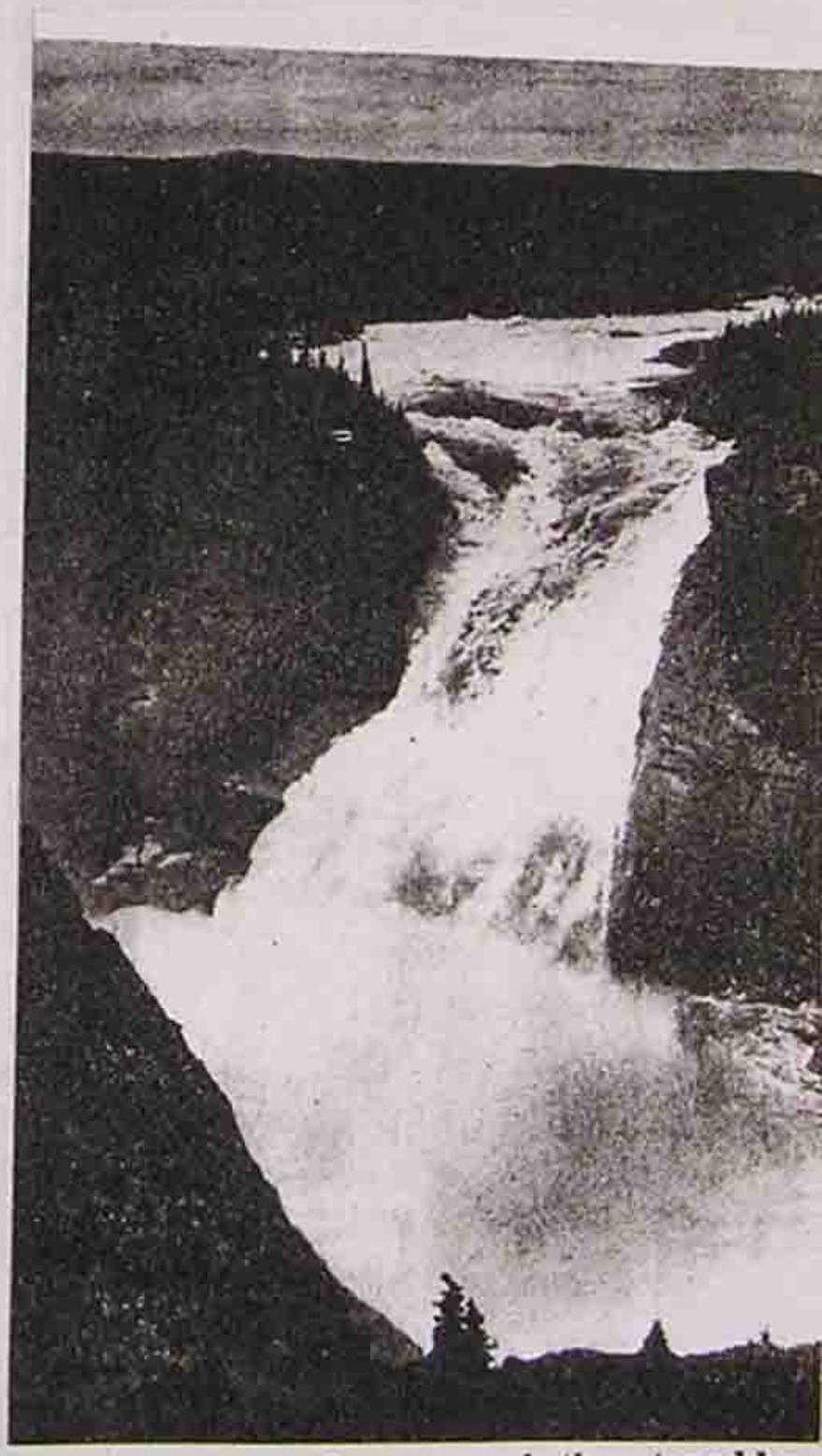
Of course there will be rumblings in the Liberal party over the terms of the deal that they will be working out in the back rooms. Within the overall interest of the class there are sectional interests at stake. And besides, they face the threat of a further decline in electoral support.

At another high point in popular opposition to U.S. imperialism, erstwhile Liberal cabinet minister Walter Gordon proposed to countercheck growing U.S. influence once with a Canada Development Corporation that would utilize the savings of the Canadian people to buy back U.S. interests or take over those threatened by U.S. takeover. Trudeau made this a key theme in his campaign for leadership of the Liberal party.

This month he replied to a question at the Ontario Liberal conference as to the whereabout of this corporation with the cynical comment that the CDC was priority 74 on a list of 74 priorities.

Gordon, who is also a director of Canada's biggest imperialist holding, Brascan, has however continued to try to give an independent Canada cover to the Liberal government. He has made no bones about his concern that, with the rise of the Waffle socialist group in the NDP and its program for an independent socialist Canada, the party will surge forward. He has also been attempting to misdirect rising anti-imperialist sentiments along lines of hostility to Canada — U.S. working class unity insofar as it is realized in the so-called international unions.

But the developing left wing in the New Democratic party would seem certain to have doomed these efforts of the Liberal government and its reform cover to failure, and to have given the New Democratic party the necessary impetus to come to grips with the question.



GIANT SELLOUT of Canada's vast untapped natural resources is threatened by projected U.S.-Canadian "integrated North American energy package."

labor Challenge Vol. 1, No. 3
March 9, 1970

V.R. Dunne, 1889-1970, American socialist leader

Vincent Raymond Dunne, one of the founders of American communism, a founding member of the American Trotskyist movement, one of the central leaders of the Socialist Workers Party for many decades, and one of the foremost mass leaders of the labor upsurge in the 1930s, died on Feb. 17 in Minneapolis at the age of 80.

Ray Dunne was one of the central figures who maintained the continuity of revolutionary Marxist leadership from its pioneer period in the United States. Educated in the school of the Industrial Workers of the World and the Socialist Party of the days of Vincent St. John and Eugene V. Debs, he became a partisan of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and one of the founders of the Communist Party of the USA.

When the Communist Party fell under the influence of Stalinism, Ray Dunne fought with all his ability for proletarian democracy and continuation of the program and practices of Leninism. He became one of the small group that founded the American Trotskyist movement in 1928.

Ray Dunne was most widely known as the outstanding leader of the best-organized strikes in the history of the United States: the semi-insurrection in 1934 that completely broke the bosses' open-shop stranglehold on the workers of Minneapolis and laid the basis for the massive development of the Teamsters Union.

For his opposition to imperialist war, he became one of the first victims of the Smith "Gag" Act at the opening of World War II, serving time in Sandstone penitentiary together with James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, and other leader Trotskyists.

Since the founding of the Socialist Workers Party in 1938, he served continuously as one of its top leaders, placing his vast experience and knowledge at the service of several generations of younger leaders.

The late Prof. F.O. Mathiessen, distinguished Harvard social and literary critic, in an analysis of labor and left political leaders internationally, observed: "The most thoughtful man among the labor leaders with whom I have been acquainted is Vincent Ray Dunne of Minneapolis' Teamsters Union. I saw him in the summer of 1936, at the time when he and his brothers had been so effectively organizing the previously wide open town of Minneapolis.

V.R. Dunne
1889-1970

"Here was a Trotskyite I could understand, for he was essentially an Irish revolutionary who had been part of the IWW in its stormiest days and had put his theories to the test of militant practice at every stage.

"He was devoted to the values of culture and determined that the working man should share in them. This lean, spare man, charged with a condensed energy, and without one wasted gesture, might well be the nearest America had come to producing a Marxist leader in the selfless tradition of Lenin."

labor Challenge

Vol. 1, No. 5 – April 6, 1970

New group aims to reform CLC

by Ross Dowson

Will the top brass of the Canadian Labor Congress be confronted by a broadly-based organized opposition at the Edmonton convention May 18-23?

If they are, it will be the first time in several decades. But that is the intention of a group of unionists who have drawn up what might be called a minimum program, called A Program for Reform, which they hope will be supported by a wide range of affiliates.

After being circulated for a couple of months in limited circles of union staff members and secondary layers of the leadership the Program for Reform has finally surfaced. Among those identified with it are Boris Mather, executive director of the Communications Workers of America, Ed Finn, research director of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers, and John Fryer, general secretary of the B.C. Government Employees Association. We understand that a score of union locals have endorsed it and that support is growing.

The program deals with what are called "five principal areas of labor interest which require special and prompt attention; social unionism, industrial democracy, Canadian autonomy, effective unionism, and structure and mergers."

The strongest sections of the document are the two entitled industrial democracy and Canadian autonomy.

The latter recognizes that "it is doubtful if the Canadian labor movement would have been established as soon or as well if it had not been for the contribution of the American unions. This in turn has meant higher living standards for Canadian workers than would otherwise have been the case."

The program therefore doesn't urge that the ties nearly 70 percent of Canadian unionists have with the parent international union be severed, but rather that the "Canadian sections should be accorded autonomous status" and that the CLC should adopt standards of autonomy

MILITANT ACTION. Trade union activists in southern Ontario organized mass march against anti-labor laws last year. "Reform" caucus wants CLC to initiate and organize actions like this.

and urge its affiliates to work toward attaining them. It recognizes that some large industrial international unions such as Steelworkers and the UAW already meet most of the criteria.

It outlines seven standards:

"(1) The Canadian section must have a Canadian office to speak for the union in Canada;

(2) The Canadian membership must elect all the Canadian officers;

(3) There must be a Canadian policy conference to deal effectively with the union's affairs in Canada;

(4) There must be a Canadian staff to serve the needs of Canadian members;

(5) A sufficient proportion of the dues collected from Canadian members must be left in Canada to finance distinctive education, research and other services, and the Canadian officers must be able to authorize expenditure of these funds;

(6) Collective agreements negotiated in Canada should not require approval from the head office in the United States;

(7) Each Canadian section must be free to determine its own political activities, including affiliation with a plitical party."

In addition it urges that procedures must be developed that "will allow the Canadian sections of international unions to merge with other unions in Canada without having to wait for the parent unions to merge in the U.S."

The authors of A Program for Reform see that "the next great thrust of the labor movement must be the advance of industrial democracy."

"To this end, the Canadian Labor Congress must fight for the extension of collective bargaining to encompass all matters which affect the workers' industrial life. We must move to erode, to restrict, and ultimately, to remove the unfettered rights of management to control the working forces, to impose discipline, to determine work schedules, to select and promote supervisory staff, to administer pension and welfare plans. These are the functions that determine the conditions of the work place hour by hour and day by day.

"Through collective bargaining, we must move to control the right of management to decide on technological changes, production plans, future industrial development policies, the curtailment of operations, the relocation of plants, the methods and processes of operations. In the right to control these functions lies the right to control the economic destiny of this country. It is a right which is vested now in an irresponsible management elite at the expense of all the other elements of our society. We must extend the influence of the trade union movement into these decision-making areas and eradicate forever the concept of management's residual rights."

Despite the clarity and insight demonstrated by these two sections there are some obvious and grave deficiencies in the program.

It is by no means a call to action against

→ To page 2

labor Challenge Vol. 1 No. 5 - April 6, 1970

the case-hardened bureaucracy that has grown up on the unions, and for the forging of a new leadership. In fact the authors appear to be completely oblivious of this basic fact of life — the lack of democracy in the union movement itself and the widening gap between the conservative, routinist, privileged, business-unionist leadership and the union rank and file. They appear to be totally unaware of the steadily deteriorating conditions in the shops which have resulted in widespread wildcat strikes and massive opposition to acceptance of contract offers which on the surface would appear to represent substantial gains.

This of course is not so surprising in light of the fact that its authors are not worker militants, with strong bases of support in their unions, but largely research technicians whose closest association outside of the bureaucracy itself, is with the most stable element in the unions today — the older workers with high seniority and in the highest wage categories, the strata upon which the union bureaucracy rests. Thus they can write that "most of the economic goals of trade unionists...have in large measure been won."

Its program of social unionism seems to us to differ in no substantial way from the "social action" policy that the CLC leadership has been developing over the last year. The political action policy it advocates through the New Democratic party is of the same strictly parliamentarist-reformist character as the CLC leadership's.

Instead of developing a fighting program of transitional demands around immediate issues confronting the workers, that will defend and extend their power, the main thrust of the document is in the direction of structural reforms of the unions.

Nonetheless the fate of this Program for Reform, the role it will play in the coming CLC convention and after, may not be determined by the formal addition of its merits less its shortcomings, but by life itself.

How is the trade union brass, who are hypersensitive to criticism, going to react to it? And how are they going to meet those forces which tend to identify with it? And how are the delegates going to respond to the program of reform, and to the reactions of the union brass?

History has known many instances when a document introduced at a critical juncture has taken on a life of its own, independent of its intrinsic character and the intention of its authors.

It may well be that the Program for Reform, for all its weaknesses, will become a focal point for an opposition of some considerable significance at the coming CLC rally that could affect the whole future course of Canadian labor.

Ed Finn

labor Challenge Vol. 1, No. 6 - Apr. 20, 1970

Canadian firms rape West Indies, forum told

TORONTO — Is Canada imperialist? That the United States is imperialist is understood by the increasing number of Canadians who oppose its dirty war in Vietnam. And that the U.S. is imperialist in its relation to Canada too, is becoming increasingly understood. But that the Canadian ruling class and the state that serves its economic interests, while subservient to the U.S. monopolists, is itself imperialist — that was clearly proven to the regular Friday night Vanguard forum here on April 3.

The speaker was Delisle Worrell, a Barbadian who is working on his PhD at McGill University in Montreal, and is vice-president of the McGill West Indies Students Association. He is also the publicity director of the defense committee of the 97 arrested Sir George Williams University students. The funds from a special appeal to the audience were turned over to this committee.

Worrell made a detailed analysis of the role that the tremendous concentration of Canadian capital plays in the West Indies, and has been playing for several generations. He described how it has developed certain natural resources such as bauxite, at the expense of the rest of the economy and through the ruthless exploitation of the native population; and how the Canadian banks through their control of credit distort development and completely control the mercantile class. The tremendous growth of tourism, he noted, hasn't expanded local agricultural crops for food — on the contrary food is imported now on a vast scale and valuable agricultural land has been turned into speculative real estate with increasing numbers of West Indians becoming menials in the service trades.

Of equal interest with Worrell's contribution was the extended discussion period with contributions from several of the audience.

Another Barbadian questioned Worrell's opinion that the struggle of the West Indians against Canadian imperialism is developing along essentially racial lines. He held the opinion that it was clearly a class struggle, particularly since the government headed by Eric Williams works cheek by jowl with the Canadian imperialists and is itself a black government. He agreed with the speaker's characterization of the government's nationalization of one of the smallest banks as tokenist, and pointed out that the main thrust of the struggle as being not only against foreign imperialism but anti-capitalist, as a class conflict.

Another contributor dramatically outlined how the Canadian struggle directed at the home base of the imperialists required the aid of the West Indian militants for success. The Cuban way, the road of socialist revolution, was the way that the West Indies struggle must go for success.

— by R.D.

labor Challenge Vol. 1 No. 8 – May 18, 1970

Labor scene

Posties heading for strike

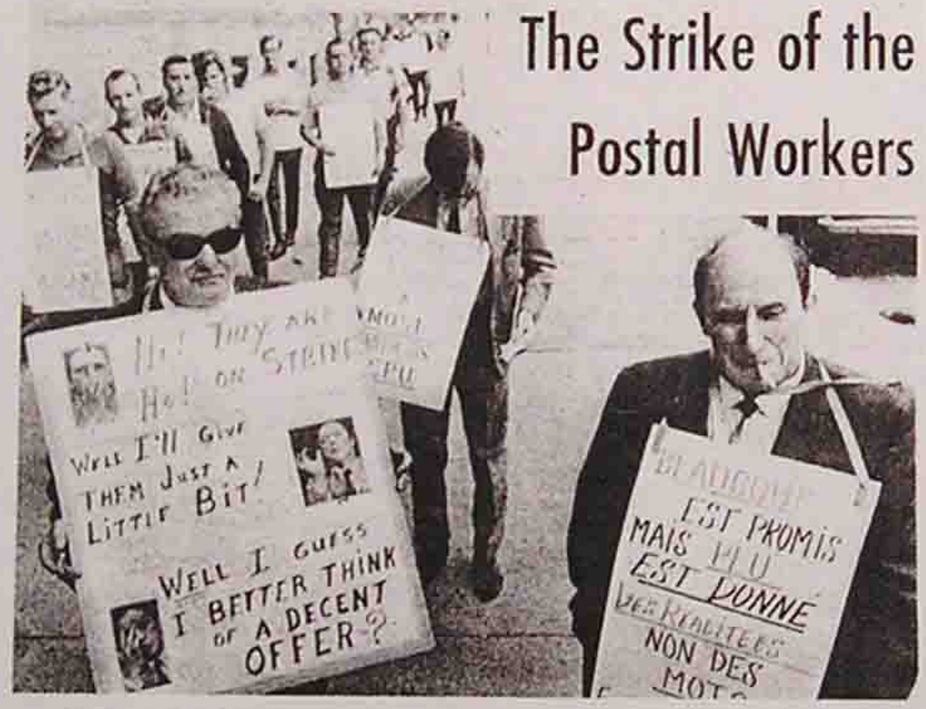
With the federal government postal officials' all-out union-busting assault on the 450 Montreal truckers represented by the Confederation of National Trade Unions, it is small wonder that job security has become a big issue in current postal negotiations.

Despite government spokesmen's assurances that it is not an issue the Council of Postal Unions representing the Canadian Union of Postal Workers and the Letter Carriers Union of Canada have declared that they will not accept an agreement without a solid job security clause.

The Council has rejected a conciliation board report that reaffirmed the government's determination to hold to a general wage increase of no more than 5 percent. Union representative Bill Walsh urged a two year contract with 30 cents an hour increase as of last October 1 and another 30 cents next October. Chairman Judge Lippe urged a 30 month contract with a total increase of 50 cents.

Legally the posties could strike now but the council has called for a cross-Canada vote on May 19 to seek authorization for a walkout.

The Strike of the Postal Workers



1968 STRIKE. Bold action by Montreal posties led by Willie Houle (above, left), now national leader of postal workers, marked big advance for all civil servants' right to organize and strike.

Labor press muffed

With the end of the three month strike and lockout of employees of Pacific Press, the two Vancouver dailies The Province and The Sun will be on the street again. The 1,200 workers voted overwhelmingly to accept the package deal worked out by the B.C. Mediation Commission. The settlement also brings an end to the Vancouver Express which was published by the strikes for 34 issues as of the May 9 issue which contained 44 pages.

Of course the striking and locked out unionists had no real difficulty in publishing the Express without the bosses. They had been doing it all along — with Pacific Press only setting editorial policy, taking in the profits and its stooges enforcing and trying to chisel on the agreement with the unions.

The lead article of the Feb. 23 issue of Labor Challenge noted that "the question of a labor daily has now been sharply posed by the simple fact that Vancouver and area is without daily newspapers... The workers with all the requisite skills are out on the streets. . .and. . .all labor needs a press of its own — above all to fight the union-busting Socred government."

The unions responded to the challenge but only in part by publishing the Express. The Express could have been a labor paper. Instead of carrying news and analysis selected and interpreted in the interests of the handful of capitalists, it could have been a paper carrying news and analysis selected and interpreted in the interests of the working people — the overwhelming majority of B.C. Unfortunately, even without the direct pressure of the capitalist class, the Vancouver Express never became a labor paper. Its editors never broke from ideological servitude to capitalism — the Express never really became anything other than another version of the Province and Sun. And to our knowledge, no one other than ourselves, no leaders of the B.C. union movement or the B.C. NDP, ever challenged them to make it a labor paper.

You can be sure the bosses grasped the threat that the Express posed. No doubt it was an added pressure upon them to settle. The Express proved the practical possibility of a labor daily. What was lacking was a leadership with sufficient class consciousness to shape it into a fighting instrument for labor.

Behind the fringes

For years United Autoworkers officials have been telling the ranks that fringe benefits which they have plumped for in lieu of wage increases were financed from the company's funds and therefore represent a concession by the company to the union.

However a recent incident involving the officers of Local 1967 and Douglas Aircraft at Malton suggests that pensions and supplementary unemployment benefits are financed, if not all at least in large part, from tax rebates the company gets from the government.

Last month, suddenly, a member of the negotiating committee who was in opposition to signing a belated section of the collective agreement dealing with pensions and SUB was fired. The same day the committee signed without him. At a subsequent stewards meeting it was revealed that if that section had not been signed to meet the fiscal year deadline a tax rebate from the government to the company of almost two million dollars, used to finance pensions and SUB, would have been in jeopardy.

The dues drain

It has cost Canadian unionists more than 50 million dollars over 1962-1966 to be affiliated to the internationals. This is one of the clinchers in the arguments against Canadian unionists being members of the international unions, circulated by the Canadian Liberation Movement — which for reasons best known to itself identifies with the Waffle forces in the NDP.

If it were true it is hard to understand why there is not a widespread revolt among Canadian unionists. But facts are facts according to Daniel Drache, the CLM leading researcher and theoretician. There is one small difficulty — the "facts" come from the union hating federal government through its Corporations and Labor Unions Act. Mr. Drache, in his avid research, overlooked the many cautioning statements that even the government felt compelled to add to its report and that expose the data for what it is — unadulterated anti-union propaganda.

The true situation is so opposite from what the CLM presents that the matter will be discussed at length at the coming policy conference of the Canadian membership of one of the internationals — the United Steelworkers of America. The Canadian union is actually bleeding the international's strike fund and thereby weakening the bargaining power of the U.S. membership.

Take the strike fund set up by the international in 1968. The Canadian membership have paid in the sum of $4,170,548 — about $27 per Canadian member over the two year period. But they have drawn out almost three times that amount — $12,279,385, almost $82 per Canadian member.

That means that for Canadian strikes alone U.S. members have subsidized Canadian members to the tune of over 7 million dollars over two years — about $1.95 per Canadian member per month. On top of this the international is going to pay the over $3 million dollars that the Supreme Court of Canada has awarded Noranda's Gaspé Copper.

There is nothing new in this — it is only the continuation of a longstanding situation. Even prior to the establishment of the international strike fund Canadian steelworkers have been heavily subsidized by the dues of U.S. members. During the last half of 1953 striking Canadian steelworkers were getting a subsidy of $2.40 per member per month. The average between the first half of 1945 and the last half of 1966 was 40 cents per Canadian member per month.

— Paul Kent

labor Challenge

Vol. 1, No. 9 - June 1, 1970

CLC parley reflects new radical forces

by Ross Dowson

The theme projected by the top leadership for the Canadian Labor Congress convention in Edmonton was to be social action. Donald MacDonald, president of the 1,650,000 member body opened the sessions with a speech that posed many of the major challenges.

MacDonald scored the Trudeau government's Prices and Incomes Commission as "the most servile agency ever to appear in public life" and affirmed that Canadian labor would not accept wage guidelines. "The trade unions continue to bargain for wage increases which in their opinion represent the legitimate demands of their members."

He attacked poverty, the lack of medical services, poor housing, pollution and regional economic disparity in affluent Canada. And he pointed out that the CLC has "organizational expertise almost unequalled in Canada to enable the poor and the disadvantaged to help themselves."

MacDonald challenged the delegates that the leadership's social action policy could reinvigorate the labor movement and even assured the congress that if it was "prepared to accept such a program, then it will have set the congress in the direction of a newer and better society."

That is how the ever-widening discontent that has been expressed in labor's ranks through wildcats, massive opposition votes on contract settlements, and marches against anti-labor laws and for medicare — not to speak of the impact of the anti-war movement, student struggles, tenant's strikes and women's liberation actions — found expression through the union brass.

The program itself, it turned out, was a pretty miserable affair — it added up to the endorsation of the establihsment of community health centers, and the increase in per capita payments to the CLC that will bring in about $600,000.

But the theme, social action, was picked up by the delegates, developed, advanced and turned in ways that MacDonald and his coterie could have scarcely anticipated. The wave of radicalization that is developing throughout the country found a higher form of expression during the congress sessions due in part to the intervention, as modest and cautious as it was, of the Reform Caucus.

The caucus was formed several months ago by a group of unionists drawn largely from secondary layers of the staff of several unions. It circulated a program covering "five principal areas of labor interest" which found their way onto the convention floor through resolutions from various locals. Its strongest aspects were those dealing with the lack of democracy, of autonomous rights in the unions that are international affiliates (which account for almost 70 percent of Canadian unionists), and the problem of the authoritarian control of the employers over introduction of technological changes, curtailment of operations, relocation of plants, etc.

Doubts as to the role of the caucus itself were overcome when it moved out and circulated its programmatic statement to the assembled delegates and held an open caucus meeting attended by some 200 of the 1,500 delegates.

In the opening sessions the convention committee on organization attempted to bypass resolutions from six locals urging that the congress itself launch a drive to organize the unorganized through the formation of multi-union teams that would overcome conflicting jurisdictions. The committee's substitute resolution sought to leave this in the hands of individual affilates. But the opposition headed by CUPE research directors Gil Levine and Andre Bekerman, and Steel staffer Chris Trower won decisive support from the delegates.

While President MacDonald, in his keynote speech, suggested in passing that

Donald MacDonald
CLC President

the congress organize the unemployed, the committee deleted any reference to this idea, even though the powerful Oshawa and District Labor Council has submitted a resolution calling for just that. Attempts by congress general vice-preesident George Watson and Distric 6 Steel director Larry Sefton to sustain the committee's recommendation failed miserably and the report was overwhelmingly referred back.

Sensing the mood of the delegates A. F. Grospiron, president of the Oil Workers, and representing AFL-CIO President Meany himself, told the delegates that he believed it essential "that we do not permit international unionism to be a vehicle which imposes U.S. viewpoints on foreign affairs upon the membership in Canada." The brass brought in a far-reaching resolution on Canadian union autonomy.

Delegate Tom Berry outlined the case for the resolution in terms of his own union, the Plumbers and Steamfitters: one convention every five years, no separate convention for Canadian members, no national officer to service Canadian members. He asked what kind of teeth the congress would put into this resolution to make such unions as the construction unions meet its terms.

The resolution called for election of Canadian officers by Canadians, policies on Canadian affairs to be decided by elected Canadian officers or by the Canadian membership and urged international unions to amend their constitutions where they forbid their Canadian affiliates from taking part in partisan politics.

While such large affiliates as Steel and Auto have already established these and other rights, never before has the Congress leadership been committed to fight for Canadian autonomy, long and bitterly denied by its cronies heading the old craft unions.

The brass attempted to adapt to the

See page 11

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...CLC convention

continued from page 12

increasing realization that the areas that until now have been the subject of union management negotiations are far too narrow. But its resolution on industrial democracy adopted only some of the rhetoric and none of the content of the Reform Caucus' manifesto. It recognized not an irreconcilable conflict but "that there is division of function between labor and management." Steel leader Mahoney ridiculed talk of industrial democracy as empty catch-phrases, "airy fairy ideas" dreamed up by "intellectuals."

Nonetheless MacDonald made it known that a committee headed by secretary-treasurer William Dodge has been appointed to study the question of industrial democracy, and that a conference on the subject will be held later in the year.

The committee on organization rejected a proposal to establish a women's committee with the classic argument of conservatives that it itself would be a form of discrimination. It was upheld, but not without delegates such as Grace Hartman of CUPE declaring "we women are going to be heard and you better start listening."

As if to demonstrate that there should be no doubt as to who was in control of the congress, however, the top brass led a tense vote-of-confidence campaign against the re-admission of the tiny 7,000 member United Fisherman and Allied Workers Union in B.C. MacDonald himself capped it off with a vicious redbaiting, witch-hunting smear.

The Reform Caucus evaded the whole question of leadership in its program. It abstained from putting forward candidates in the executive elections. It is now widely rumored that the jobs of its leading spokesmen who are union staffers are on the line. The chief weakness of the caucus is that it has no rank and file base under it. It must express its concepts in a more concrete and immediate programmatic form, turn outwards and consolidate forces under it, or — even though this congress showed that it is in step with mounting pressures — it will be a passing phase, and not the actual beginning of an effective militant rank and file caucus.

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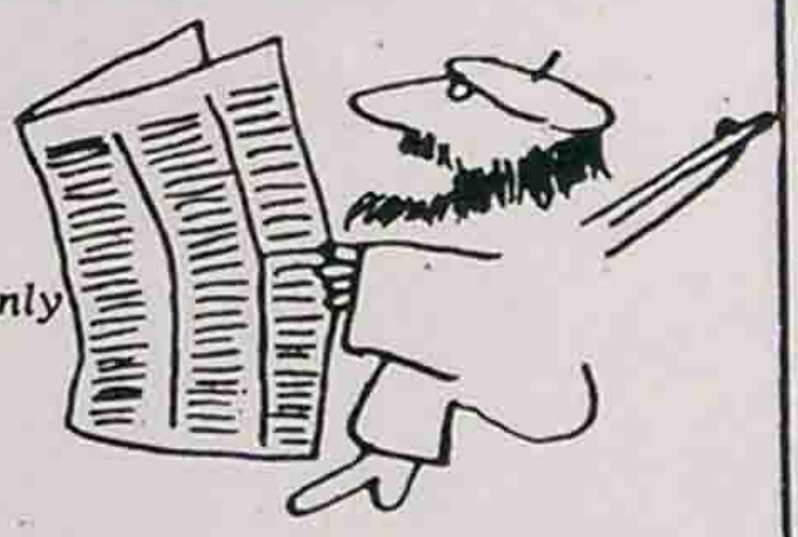

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Need answers on gut issues

NDP brass flunk test

by Anne Macdonald

The New Democratic Party right wing's strategy to isolate and discredit the party's socialist wing was outlined in a speech April 11 by Ontario NDP leader Donald MacDonald to the provincial council. MacDonald's speech was an extended polemic with the left.

Of course, he didn't come right out and label the left as his target. He repeated all the mythology about how the membership determines policies, and of how the leadership must represent a "consensus" of opinion within the party, reconciling left with right. He didn't mention all the left resolutions of the past Ontario convention, on Vietnam, public housing, public ownership of natural resources, withdrawalfrom NATO, all of which were adopted by the membership, then carefully ignored by the leadership. MacDonald made pious gestures to the necessity for "a strong and vigorous group of people who are at home in the world of political ideas, and who continually press the re-examination of the party's conventional wisdom," although he shied away from identifying this group as the "left."

But the essence of MacDonald's message was, as he put it, that "basically, the Canadian society, and particularly that of Ontario, is small 'c' conservative. Therefore any political party which appears to be intent on sudden, cataclysmic changes, of the sort traditionally proposed by various branches of American populism, will not win the support of people here."

In spite of all the radicalization, he noted, the militants are still very much a minority. To "indulge in ideological posturing" instead of answering the "gut" issues, the "activists" could open "a gap between us and the rank and file of our own party, and an even wider gap between us and the electorate as a whole." All hope of forming the government in next year's election would then be lost.

Of course, no one in the left can question the need for the party to utilize the issues, struggles, form and style that will communicate most successfully with its constituency. The failure of the ultraleft is precisely their rejection of this need to relate to the masses and their fixation with adventures which serve only to isolate them from the very people who are instrumental in bringing about socialism, the working class.

But while these criteria are crucial in the determination and application of programmatic demands, they are not sufficient. The most important aspect is the direction and content of a political demand.

For example, just a few days after the council meeting, MacDonald attempted in an article in the Toronto Star to translate his concept of policy into concrete proposals. The inadequacy of accepting the present level of consciousness of the electorate as virtually sole determinant in formulating the program, was painfully obvious. MacDonald deals with "gut" issues all right; the context of the article is a program to fight "Americanization" of Ontario, that is, the problem of U.S. ownership. Within that framework he even advances some demands which can raise the question of public ownership — open the books of the foreign-owned corporations, use of tax and licensing powers, end restrictions on sales to workers states, etc. — but MacDonald counters that logical thrust with calls for a "mixed economy," public enterprises to "compete with" monopolies, more private as well as public housing, more aid to private business, etc. In short, MacDonald, in his desire not to antagonize the "small 'c' conservatives," simply fails to "tell it like it is." It's just the same old program of band-aid reforms designed to make the ailing capitalist structures survive a little longer.

As MacDonald puts it, the main asset of his "plan" is that it "doesn't involve cataclysmic changes which would prove to be unacceptable to the people." By "cataclysmic changes" however, he clearly means anything which goes beyond his limited program of "guidelines on foreign investment."

His program, far from pointing the way to the socialist answers, spreads illusions about the capacity of the capitalist system to resolve the problems it causes. Even from the viewpoint of electoralist opportunism — MacDonald's viewpoint— it's not all that successful. If voters are told the choice is simply which party can administer capitalism best, they are hardly inclined to consider any possible anticapitalist alternatives.

The result is either a continuing rejection of the NDP as "too radical," or, on those rare occasions when crises in the capitalist parties permit an NDP electoral victory, a government without a conscious mandate for radical social change.

The Waffle group's program is based on fundamentally different — and correct — concepts: that public ownership is the essence of any strategy to counter foreign ownership, and that armed with a socialist program, the NDP must move beyond the confines of parliamentary politicking to intervene actively in the developing mass movements, to build a mass movement for socialism. The caucus is continuing to grow, to win new support within the party, around this general position, which reflects the impact upon the party of the new, deepening radicalization in Canadian society as a whole.

But the Waffle group, too, has a problem in that it lacks a specific program of concrete demands, which can translate the generalizations into a program of action, to project the party into effective struggle on immediate issues. Not that the ideas are lacking. In the campaign to stop the Toronto Dunlop plant closure, for example, Waffle leader Mel Watkins, who was very active in aiding the local union leadership, wrote a widely-distributed article which put forward a multiplicity of demands ranging from using the workers' severance pay to keep the plant operating under the old management, right through to a projected sit-in and operation of the plant under workers' control. But because there was no understanding of priorities, of emphasizing the need for public ownership of the plant, and in the first place of posing demands capable of mobilizing the rank and file of the union, who after all were crucial to any such campaign, the Waffle intervention was scarcely distinguishable from that of the NDP leadership and their attempts to detour the struggle alon the legalist and losing road of lawsuits and injunctions.

How to relate a radical program to presently unradicalized workers? In the transitional program of the Fourth International, Leon Trotsky discussed this very problem. The main strategic task, he said "consists in overcoming the contradiction between the maturity of the objective revolutionary conditions and the immaturity of the proletariat and its vanguard. . .It is necessary to help the masses in the process of the daily struggle to find the bridge between present demands and the socialist program of the revolution. This bridge should include a system of transitional demands, stemming from today's conditions and from today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class and unalterably leading to one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat."

Donald MacDonald offers us a minimum program which limits itself to ineffectual reforms within the framework of capitalist society; the Waffle group points to the "maximum program" of the substitution of socialism for capitalism. For classic social democracy, no bridge existed between the minimum and maximum program.

The challenge facing the Waffle group is to formulate a program for the NDP which provides that bridge. The Donald MacDonald's clearly won't do it for us.

DONALD MacDONALD. Ontario NDP leader attacks left wing.

Behind the royal tour

by Ross Dowson

All in all the Royal tour came off in style, despite many difficulties. For there are hardly any natives in the entire North West Territories for the Royal party to meet and to provide a backdrop for the operation. And aside from the scattered handsful of military personel, government and church officials, the population is so completely demoralized because it is so deprived and lives in such squalor.

So a suitable crowd was arranged. Well over 500 young smiling Boy Scouts were flown in from every province for an Arctic and Northern Scout Jamboree. Even the Bishop of the of the Arctic came up from his home in Toronto's outskirts to officiate at the Frobisher Evensong. Considerable time and money was spent on the tour itself in a period when Ottawa is cutting back, creating massive unemployment and trying to block the trade unions from getting wage increases.

The daily press cooperated. For days on end tour photos and vignettes shoved Cambodia, the Mideast, labor struggles, into small backcorners or out of sight altogether.

The press corps, informally received by the Royal Family shortly after they arrived at Frobisher Bay, pledged itself to not quote the royal personages. There were a few slip ups. Prince Phillip was quoted as saying that Frobisher Bay, where the sewage pipes empty directly into the bay and stain the pack ice for miles, looks like a garbage dump. But this was an exception, and besides the tour was so organized that the Royal Family was shielded from seeing much further than their entourage — thus ill-advised comments were cut down to a minimum.

For instance when Princess Anne dropped in and out of Duck Bay for 35 minutes — a Métis community of 700 where 85 percent are on welfare, she never got further than 100 yards from the school house where the helicopter landed. She never saw the primitive tarpaper shacks or even heard that the grocery stores had cut off all sales of vanilla extract until the visit was over.

Why was the Royal tour scheduled for such an unpopulated and depressed area? One thing for sure they couldn't got to la belle province, after the reception they received from the Québécois last time.

Because of the speech against Arctic pollution that the Queen gave as she left Yellowknife, some claim that one of the major purposes of the tour was to bolster Canada's claim to sovereignty in the Arctic. That is the line of the Toronto Star which has been presenting the Trudeau government as a defender of Canadian sovereignty against US encroachments.

But there is a more likely reason for the tour — the natives are restless — and Ottawa sees some value in unfurling the royal standard. As the Queen herself expressed it in her Winnipeg address; she hoped that "the Crown will continue in the future, as it has done in the past, to be a unifying force and focus for national identity."

It is hard to say that effect the tour had on the Territory's natives. There was some speculation, since they were used to seeing the official portraits of the Queen in all her regalia, that despite all official efforts, they actually did not recognize her as the Queen. So the farewell dinner in Yellowknife was held with all protocol observed — the diamonds were brought out. However officials so jammed it that the native people were practically excluded.

But at Le Pas, Chief Courchene, in his welcoming speech, not only related his people's grievances but challenged the Queen to see for herself the results of a century of deprivation and reminded her, as lineal descendent of the Great White Mother, Queen Victoria, in whose name the Indians were robbed of their lands, that the Indians seek redress for the in-

And the Indians are not the only restless natives. Last election the working people of Manitoba tossed out the Tories and elected an NDP government into office. All signs have been pointing to the government going through with its provincially-owned auto insurance plan, despite fierce opposition that has been whipped up by business interests.

The Queen was most graciously received by Premier Schreyer and his government. The NDP Speaker of the House, in opening the ceremony assured the Queen of the people of Manitoba's loyalty, even "to the principles and traditions for which you stand."

Perhaps one should not expect Premier Schreyer to stand up. as did Chief Courchene, and relate some aspect of the 100years of struggle against capitalist injustice waged by the people of Manitoba, of Louis Riel, the Winnipeg General Strike, or even of the current struggle against unemployment, lack of housing, inflation and the conflict between his government and the Big Business interests.

Schreyer filled the air with pious platitudes and talked, not of the grain trusts whose scion Richardson graces the federal cabinet, and the farmers who they are driving off the land, but how with "our character of gentle tolerance" all classes built Manitoba "in gentleness and in prosperity."
confidence that the Indian people "will always remain an integral and vital element in the life of the province" Ironically she raphosidized in French. "The mingling of many people is crating a new society in which all are Canadians and in which all walks of life are open to everyone and where government exists to serve and protect the aspirations of each individual."

After a wave of her hand Queen Elizabeth, head of one of the few remaining dynasties which has not been overthrown as a supporter of barbaric reaction, one of the richest slum landowners in the world, jetted out for England. There she put her signature to a decree that authorized Prime Minister Heath to move troops against the British dockworkers and crush their struggle for a $50 a week wage.

PROTESTS INJUSTICE. Chief David Courchene tells the Queen the truth of his peoples' oppression.

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Postal win sets pace for federal workers

by Ross Dowson

What was it all about — with the Trudeau government in its hassle against the postal workers?

It took almost a year and after only a whole series of rotating strikes from coast to coast by the letter carriers and inside workers before the government conceded an estimated 7.2% wage increase — 55 cents of it in the next six month period — job security etc. Not far short of the unions' original demands!

It started off with determined statements about holding the postal workers to the 6 percent wage guidelines which the government and its big business advisors unilaterally decided was necessary to cool the fires of inflation. But as time passed there were suggestions by eminent persons that the guidelines were perhaps not relevant to the postal workers' case.

Then the government assumed the post of defender of the poor taxpayer, who would have to pay the shot, and the guardian of the postal service itself which was pricing itself out of the market and facing destruction.

The settlement is said to have raised the post office payroll by 22 million dollars a year and the government deficit (to be made up of course by increased taxes on the workers) by about 40 million, not only because of the concessions to the postal workers but because of loss of business. The government was going to the wall in its defense of the taxpayers' interests!

But now with the settlement we are told a different story — or is it all just so much face-saving? Far from being harassed by the postal workers Treasury Board President Charles Drury told a Toronto Star staff writer that the government had held "all the dice."

Since May 26, when the unions launched a series of rotating strikes, mail disruption cost 30 million dollars in lost revenue alone, yet the five cents the government refused to concede would have cost only another 7 million. The increased cost of calculable fringe benefits, Mr. Drury said, would be "minimal."

The truth is that while the 27,000 postal workers were on the battlefront the government had its eyes on much larger forces that were only coming into the wings — the 185 to 190,000 public servants who are also covered by contracts with the government and the 91,000 of their number whose agreements are now being negotiated.

These workers are still under arbitration regulations but there is a growing mood in their ranks to switch to conciliation — with the right to strike. One group in the 90,000 Public Service Alliance, the small communications unit, has just voted in its majority to go for conciliation, and there is a growing trend in this direction.

According to William Doherty, first vice-president of the 130,000 member Public Service Alliance of Canada "public servants are becoming more militant and more disenchanted with the arbitration route" and the terms won by the postal unions will add to the unrest over the limitations of the arbitration process.

Treasury Board President Drury challenged Doherty "The experience the Postal Union Council has gone through could not be described as rewarding. They might have got a few cents more per hour but they paid a price for it."

The postal workers through their militancy in this conflict not only made real and substantial gains for themselves. In the process they firmed up their own forces as a union on the way to developing a leadership that will not only hold firm as did the present leaders under the government's assault, but on the next occasion will be able to give real leadership to the membership.

And, perhaps most important of all, they spearheaded a struggle that is opening up the doors for thousands and thousands of civil servants to join the ranks of fighting labor.

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Convention shows LSA/LSO gains

Course set for rapid growth

by John Riddell

The convention of the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, held in Toronto Sept. 4-7, was by far the largest assembly ever held by Canadian Trotskyists.

The convention hall was jammed with 240 participants, including 50 delegates from the League's 13 branches. Debates were crowded with contributions from almost all delegates. A five minute limit was established on contributions to permit all an opportunity to reach the microphone.

A network of wires, earplugs and loudspeakers brought all proceedings to delegates in two languages, English and French, through a simultaneous translation system constructed by the League's Montreal branch.

Colleen Levis gave the convention report on the women's liberation movement.

Document tables were loaded with 19 hefty discussion bulletins; ten in English, nine in French. The bulletins, open to contributions from all members, had been circulated and debated in the branches before the election of delegates.

In its discussions on Quebec, the convention decided on an important turn in the work of the League. Noting the massive increase in independentist sentiment and nationalist struggles since the last convention in 1968, it adopted the slogan "For an Independent Socialist Quebec."

Two other major turns in the class struggle were discussed: the rise of the women's liberation movement, and the reflection of increased anti-imperialist sentiment through the creation of the NDP's left "Waffle" caucus.

But the crowded agenda ranged from plenary sessions on the student movement, and socialist publications to workshops on education, trade union work and the anti-war movement to countless smaller meetings in the corridors and over lunch.

Proceedings opened with greetings from Alain Krivine, a representative of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization with which the League maintains close fraternal ties, and from the Socialist Workers Party of the U.S. A major report on the world revolutionary movement by John Steele concretized the spirit of internationalism that permeated the assembly.

The outstanding theme of the convention emerged in the discussion of building the revolutionary socialist movement.

If other sessions gave a picture of the new possibilities for the achievement of socialism in Canada, this discussion reemphasized the need for a mass revolutionary party of world scope to lead this socialist revolution. It brought home the crucial importance of the present period — one of preparation — in assembling and training revolutionary cadres in the vanguard organization — the LSA/ LSO.

This convention showed that this process is well underway. League membership has grown by 35% since 1968. The biggest breakthrough has been the League's expansion across the country: five branches have multiplied in two years to 13 active groups in six provinces.

A minority tendency within the League presented an alternate view on several vital questions. Although only one delegate of the minority was chosen in the elections (by proportional representation) in League branches, it received equal time for counter-reports on the key areas of difference. A minority representative was elected onto the incoming cross-Canada leadership body. The impact of convention discussions was registered by the minority's pulling back from several of its previously held positions.

Elections of the new Central Committee, the pan-Canadian leadership, registered the qualitative development of the League's Québécois leadership. Manon Leger, LSO candidate for mayor of Montreal, was elected president of the LSA/ LSO. Ross Dowson was re-elected executive secretary.

As the convention closed with an enthusiastic singing of the "Internationale", the spirit was one of unity and confidence —confidence that this assembly had made the decisions, laid the groundwork for a qualitative new leap in the growth of the LSA/ LSO.

OPENING SESSION. Alain Krivine addresses the crowd of 40

LSA/LSO C

The convention's presiding committee photo by Mintz

NDP debate sets tasks for party's left

by Anne Macdonald

The convention's discussion of the New Democratic Party ranged widely from the long-range strategy of revolutionary socialists in the party to the immediate challenge posed by the NDP's left-wing "Waffle" caucus.

A contribution by Ross Dowson provided a historical view of the work of revolutionaries to build the NDP, and its predecessor the CCF, and win them to socialism. His article updated his 1951 document on the CCF, which has been surreptiously but widely circulated by the NDP and New Democratic Youth leaderships.

It unequivocably reaffirms that the NDP, from the day of its founding, has been the political party of the English-Canadian working class. It warns, however, that "While in its ranks there are forces that will come to the revolution, this party will never make the revolution, nor can it be reformed to serve this purpose.

"Thus the NDP represents both an opening to and a barrier against, stands both on the way and athwart the way of the building of the revolutionary vanguard.

"For the class as a whole over the entire past period the NDP represents a progressive and important step forward in their political development and it will continue to do so for some period." Only if this party ceases to be the alternative in the eyes of the class would revolutionaries be justified to stop supporting it.

Dowson's document describes the Trotskyists' struggles to establish their orientation to the labor party. "Our CCF-NDP orientation and its effective application has been the hardest fought position in the history of the movement, established against trends of centrist conciliationism and liquidationism into the NDP, sectarian opposition and in more recent years spontaneist and adventurist hostility to it, leading to defection from the revolutionary vanguard itself."

"Our orientation to the NDP," his document concludes, "is an orientation to the working class in the process of developing political consciousness. We have been firm and consistent in maintaining this orientation because we have no intention of being cut off or cutting ourselves off from the force that is destined to settle accounts with capitalist rule and establish workers power."

The convention discussion picked up in detail the issues raised in the second report, which discussed the Waffle caucus.

The tremendous potential of the Waffle caucus has been reflected in NDP conventions, where it has obtained the support of 1/ 4 to 1/ 3 of the delegates.

The Waffle formation is vital to provide a vehicle through which the growing numbers of conscious socialists in the NDP can come to grips with the anti-socialist leadership, and to prevent socialists from dropping away from the party, and from meaningful political activity, through the lack of any concrete perspective for action.

However nationally and in two key provinces, B.C. and Ontario, the Waffle's leadership is firmly in the hands of a cliquist middle-class leadership. Cy Gonick's contribution to the recent national Waffle conference, entitled "Revolutionary Reformism," summed up their non-revolutionary orientation.

This centrist element tends to lack understanding of two key political facts. First they envisage the takeover and use of the state in more or less its present form, either through electoral means, perhaps reinforced by mass mobilizations, or through some other, undefined process.

They do not see that the present state machinery, totally shaped by and committed to the capitalist class, has to be swept aside so new structures can be built controlled by the workers. A social revolution, not just a change of governments, is what is required.

Moreover their petty-bourgeois character has led them to misunderstand the key role of the NDP's roots in the organized working class, and even to question at times their orientation to the NDP.

The convention outlined several key problems confronting the Waffle today, which result in the main from these questions.

1. The Waffle has to develop a cohesive cohesive set of alternative demands to present in the party which together will lead the class towards socialism but which at the same time can be understood by the class now.

2. The Waffle has to deepen its roots inside the party, relate to its struggle and concerns, and not substitute itself for the party, or slip outside the party.

3. The Waffle has to understand the need for a principled democratic leadership for the class both in its mass political expression and the unions. This means replacing the present leaderships. It also means that the Waffle itself has to adhere strictly to these principles. Neither the NDP nor the Waffle must tolerate elitism, sectarianism, expulsions and witch-hunting for ideas whose free development is crucial for the party's continuing progress.

A lengthy discussion from the floor worked out several problems of the intervention of revolutionary socialists in the Waffle and the NDP, and concluded with the adoption of the general principles and proposals of the two major reports.

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photo by White

convention's first session.

Women's liberation debate plans strategy for mass action

by Liz Angus

The Women's Liberation discussion on Sunday evening was without question the most exciting and one of the most important sessions of the entire League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière convention. The document submitted by the political committee of the LSA/ LSO was the basis of a thorough examination of the development of the women's liberation movement and of the role of the League in building it.

Contributions by 23 delegates — three men and 20 women — from right across the country reflected the inspiring growth of the women's liberation movement in Canada and testified to the vitality of the women participating in this movement.

The discussion was led off with a report by Colleen Levis, based on the political committee's document. She brought up four main points:

She analyzed the significance and the dynamic of the struggle for women's liberation. "As a movement, we see its direction as objectively anti-capitalist. Because most women are coming to see society and not men as the enemy of women, the question of changing society is raised. . .We see it as a key component force in the coming Canadian revolution."

She discussed some of the key issues facing the movement, particularly the question of how best to build the movement. LSA/ LSO women, she said, must push for internal democracy in women's liberation groups — full participation of all members in the activities and decisions of the groups.

She emphasized the necessity for actions around transitional demands which have broad appeal for women and carry them forward in an anti-capitalist direction. One such demand which has particularly demonstrated its effectiveness in mobilizing broad sectors of women is "free abortion on demand."

The LSA/ LSO must link the women's liberation movement with the class struggle, she said, particularly by pressing the New Democratic Party to move out as an ally in the fight for women's rights.

She outlined the role of revolutionary socialists in building the women's liberation movement as a broad, independent force. "We will win large numbers of women who are brought to revolutionary politics through their experiences in fighting for the liberation of women. These women will play a prominent role in the building of the revolutionary party."

When discussion was opened to the floor, a forest of arms went up. The ensuing debate gave a vivid picture of where the cross country movement is at and of the important role LSAers have been playing in building the movement.

There were speakers from nearly every major city in Canada and many smaller centers. The effectiveness and self-confidence of the speakers testified to the role the women's liberation movement plays in developing women leaders, and their enthusiasm reflected the dynamism of the movement right across the country.

Penny Simpson and Brenda Zannis of Montreal spoke of the particular problems Québécois women face — the triple oppression of these women — as women, as workers, and as Québécois.

Kate Porter of Vancouver contrasted the intervention of the LSA to that of other tendencies in the women's liberation movement. The Communist Party, she said, "flunked out at the beginning," in ignoring or opposing it. Various Maoist groups oppose its independent dynamic, supporting only struggles around wage issues. The New Left women often try to transform it into a last-ditch substitution for a revolutionary party. Only the LSA/ LSO, she said, has the perspective of building and broadening the movement.

At the close of the discussion the report of Colleen Levis and the document presented to the convention were adopted unanimously, emphasizing that the League was going to throw itself fully into the work of building the women's liberation movement.

onvention

International youth leader addresses rally of 400

"For three years, we have been in a new revolutionary period in Europe," said Alain Krivine, in describing the work of the Trotskyists on that continent.

"Thousands of youth, especially students, have been radicalized. It was possible for us to participate in the May Day demonstration in Paris this year, from which we have been excluded in the past, and to mobilize 10,000 workers and students to march behind our banners."

Krivine was the featured speaker at the opening session of the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière convention in Toronto Sept. 4.

And at the close of his talk, the crowd of close to 400 at the open session rose in standing ovation punctuated by the chants "ce n'est qu'un debut, continuons le combat!" (It's only the beginning; continue the struggle.)

Krivine is internationally known as a key figure in the May-June uprising in France 1968, as a leader of the Ligue Communiste, and its candidate for the presidency of France in 1969. He brought greetings to the convention from the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution founded in 1938 by Leon Trotsky.

"Before the period of new radicalization Trotskyists were unable by their own actions to set a revolutionary example before the working class. The workers movement was totally controlled by Stalinism, and social democracy. But now in Europe, we are beginning to be able to organize mass actions on our own."

Krivine described the role of detonator played by this student vanguard in giving rebirth to the revolutionary workers movement in Europe. He spoke of the new openings to building revolutionary vanguard parties in Europe, and how the Trotskyist movement was playing the decisive role in this regard.

The Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International, has emerged as a nationally known revolutionary force, having tripled in size since 1968, when its adherents played a decisive role in the May-June social uprising.

The second featured address was by Richard Thompson, prominent Saskatchewan student leader who recently joined the Young Socialists. Formerly a leading spokesman for the New Left, prominent in the now-defunct Canadian Union of Students, the Saskatchewan student movement and the Committee for a Socialist Movement, Thompson's evolution to Trotskyism typifies the experience of a whole layer of youth well represented at the convention.

Jean Herivault gives the report on the massive sales of La Lutte Ouvrière in Quebec.

He discussed the student movement's need for an anti-capitalist strategy, and pointed to the LSA/ LSO's orientation to the NDP as crucial to such a strategy.

Mary-Alice Waters brought greetings to the gathering from the Socialist Workers Party of the United States.

Phil Courneyeur of the Montreal Branch of the LSO, describing the character of the LSA/ LSO, explained that "our movement is a movement of leaders, of workers, of students, of women who understand the revolutionary program and how to implement it in action. Our convention is an assembly of activists!"

The lengthy ovation that closed this opening session reflected the determination and the enthusiasm of those present to continue the struggle to bring about a socialist society in Canada.

Independent socialist Quebec: path for national liberation

by John Wilson

The 1970 convention of the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere marked a major turn in the work of revolutionary socialists in Quebec, distinctly summarized in the very title of the document adopted by the plenary session on Quebec, "For an Independent and Socialist Quebec."

The document was presented by Arthur Young, editor of La Lutte Ouvrière. It states, "In 1968 we noted (in the document Vive le Québec Libre/ Vers la Libération du Québec) that 'national consciousness has given new dimensions to the class struggle.' But up until the momentous developments of the past two years, there was no significant working class sentiment for independentism as such, despite the growth of a profoundly revolutionary national consciousness. There was no reason to believe that the demand for independence was required to advance the interests of the overall struggle of the Quebec workers.

The developments of the last two years have changed that decisively. The document continues:

". . .A powerful nationalist upsurge has extended deep into the ranks of the urban working class, the vast majority of the Québécois population, taking form notably around the massive mobilizations in defense of the French language and the development of the mass sentiment for an independent Quebec."

"The growing support for independentism is profoundly revolutionary. It signifies above all a collective disillusionment in the capacity of the existing legal and political structures — and by implication, the social structures which they consecrate — to overcome the national inequality; and it denotes a deep desire for a radical change from top to bottom in the entire political structure. This is the essential revolutionary dynamic of the national consciousness."

Young explained that the emergence of a powerful student movement, highlighted by such events as the massive occupation of the CEGEPs in the fall of '68, and the "McGill français" march in the spring of '69 has contributed heavily to this. So too has the ongoing struggle for unilingualism, which drawing on all sectors of Québécois society peaked in the massive protest march of over 40,000 on the Quebec legislature last autumn, mobilized against the entrenchment of English-language privileges in the infamous Bill 63. Combined with these, the increased militancy and combativity of Quebec workers, emerging in highly advanced forms of struggle, demonstrate the immense possibilities for the growth of revolutionary socialism in Quebec in the coming period.

The immense growth of independentist sentiment in the working class was registered most decisively in the elections of April 1970.

But while the growth of this sentiment is highly progressive the emergence of the Parti Québécois (PQ) as its principal political expression at this time is not. The convention rejected any notion that the PQ as such is a step forward and condemns the opportunist capitulation of the majority of the Quebec left to the massive sweep of the PQ's popular support. It characterizes the PQ as a bourgeois nationalist party with a case-hardened leadership of middle class professionals and careerists which precludes changing it from within or without. Even were the PQ to take power and negotiate a "cold" (peaceful) agreement with Ottawa for "sovereignty," this would not move Quebec one iota toward solving the basic cause of its national oppression — the ownership and rape of the economy by the foreign imperialism.

For the workers, the PQ is an obstacle, a trap, a diversion. The burning objective necessity facing the Quebec labor movement is to break from the PQ and establish a viable alternative — a mass labor party responsible to the class.

After a lengthy discussion, in which all Québécois members had full speaking rights, the convention overwhelmingly adopted Young's report and the document, setting the task before Quebec revolutionaries of intervening in the mass nationalist movement and leading it in its logical anti-capitalist course of development.

Key to this process is building the cadres of the revolutionary socialist movement in Quebec — nucleus of the future mass vanguard revolutionary party.

Repeal the War Measures Act!
Federal troops, Out of Quebec!

10-23-1

labor Challenge

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Free all political prisoners is campus rallies' demand

OCTOBER 21 — Within hours of the Trudeau government's proclamation of the War Measures Act, significant protests were launched across Canada. On Friday, October 16, rallies on university campuses were held in Toronto (150 at University of Toronto; 300 at York), 800 at the Regina campus of the University of Saskatchewan, and 80 on the Saskatoon campus.

Further rallies and demonstrations were held on Saturday. 500 turned out for a rally in Toronto; 300 demonstrated in Winnipeg, and 100 in Ottawa. A thousand spectators and participants attended an ultraleft rally organized by the Vancouver Liberation Front.

Demonstrations, teach-ins and mass meetings are planned for this week in Kitchener-Waterloo, London, Fredericton, Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Hamilton, Ottawa, Regina and Saskatoon, organized by ad hoc committees.

In Quebec the first steps towards building a massive civil liberties defense campaign in the face of severe repression, were taken on the weekend with the formation of the Front Commun pour la Liberte (Common Front for Liberty). This group is made up of journalists, civil libertarians and nationalist figures with the active support and facilities of the Confederation of National Trade Unions.

A strong statement by the three major Quebec labor federations denounced the Bourassa government's "decision to end the negotiations (with the FLQ) and to implore the federal government to put

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Act suppresses all dissent

The War Measures Act is being used to suppress *all* opposition to the federal, Quebec and Montreal governments, charges the League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere in a statement released October 18.

Two leading members of the LSO in Quebec, Arthur Young and Penny Simpson, have been arrested and are being held under the Act, despite their well-known opposition to the terrorist tactics of the Front de Liberation du Quebec. Young is editor of La Lutte Ouvriere, the Quebec revolutionary socialist monthly. He and Simpson are publicity agent and campaign treasurer, respectively, of Manon Leger, the candidate of the LSO and the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes for the Montreal mayoralty.

"We protest this crude attempt to deprive the people of Montreal of the right to acquaint themselves with the socialist program and the democratic alternative in the current civic elections," the LSA/ LSO statement declares. "Manon Leger's campaign is based on the demand for an independent socialist Quebec. Is it a crime to speak out for French unilingualism and a workers government in these elections?"

Arrests under the Act are by no means limited to those whose views may be described as revolutionary, the LSA/ LSO notes. Two candidates of the Front d'Action Populaire (FRAP), a trade union-backed political party contesting the Montreal elections, are being held. FRAP's offices have been raided repeatedly, and its print-shop closed down. "Hundreds of persons have been arrested and held incommunicado. Lawyers' files have been seized. The daily press reports that 'tons of literature' have been carted away."

In proclaiming the War Measures Act, mobilizing the military and suppressing all civil liberties, "the authorities are engaging in counter-terror," the LSA/ LSO charges.

The League for Socialist Action/ Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere is a common organization uniting revolutionary socialist in both nations, Quebec and English Canada. Its members are active in the student movement, the anti-Vietnam war movement and the movement for women's liberation. They are prominent militants in their trade unions.

In Quebec, they are leading participants in the movement for national independence; LSO members have played key roles in the struggle to defend the French language, and in the student movement. In English Canada, the LSA is well-known in the left for its unconditional support of the New Democratic Party and the struggle to win the NDP to a socialist program.

Because of its clear understanding that socialism can only come through the conscious action of the majority of the workers around a program which mobilizes the working class in mass actions, the LSA/ LSO is a firm opponent of individual terror, such as is practised by the FLQ. In Quebec, the LSO has consistently opposed the FLQ's methods, and counterposed its own program which

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by Robert Dumont

OCTOBER 22 — "Kidnappings? We are a nation that has been kidnapped," is a phrase often heard in Quebec this week, in the wake of Ottawa's proclamation of the War Measures Act.

It's an apt metaphor. According to [illegible] reports, almost 400 persons have been jailed in more than 1,600 raids. And the arrests are still continuing. At last count, close to 5,000 troops backed by an estimated 15,000 police are occupying Quebec and the federal capital, with reinforcements being sent in every day from bases as far away as Edmonton.

Quebec Justice Minister Choquette says he will use his authority under the War Measures Act to hold those arrested a full 21 days without charges. And, once charged, they may then be held for 90 days without a court appearance. The minister of "justice" says the delays are "inevitable" because of the large number of police files to be consulted.

Even a partial listing of those arrested — the ones we know for sure are being detained — reads like a Who's Who of Quebec's political and trade union leaders, writers, and artists of the left and nationalist movements. They include two candidates for Montreal city council; at least five officials of the Confederation of

A nation kidnapped... an eyewitness

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National Trade Unions, including the president of the CNTU's Montreal central council, Michel Chartrand; some 30 members of the Parti Quebecois, the mass independentist party; and prominent political activists like Pierre Vallieres, Charles Gagnon and Stan Gray.

The detainees include Arthur Young and Penny Simpson, leaders of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, the Quebec Trotskyist organization. The arrest of Young and Simpson, official publicity agent and treasurer respectively of the LSO's candidate for the Montreal mayoralty, Manon Leger, is symptomatic; authorities like Mayor Drapeau are using the Act to

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Who killed P. Laporte ?

M. Robert Bourassa.

My dear Robert,

I am convinced that I am writing the most important letter of my life. . .

I insist that the police cease all searches to find me. . .If they succeeded, this would mean a murderous fusillade from which I would certainly not emerge alive.

That means that you have the power to decide the fate of my life.

If the departure of the "political prisoners" is organized and carried out successfully, I am certain that my personal safety is absolutely assured.

This should be done rapidly, because I do not see why, by delaying, I would be made to die bit by bit in the place where I am being detained.

DECIDE — WHETHER I LIVE OR DIE. I am counting on you and thank you.

Best wishes,
Pierre Laporte.

labor Challenge

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Repressive law looms under cover of WMA

by Ross Dowson

The Trudeau government is now replacing the War Measures Act, with which it arrogated to itself sweeping totalitarian powers allegedly to cope with the "apprehended insurrection" posed by the FLQ, at the same time as it is fuelling a smoke screen of rumours about a sinister plot by prominent Quebec figures alleged to have aimed to usurp the authority of Premier Bourassa's Liberal government with a provisional regime.

Thus at one and the same time it attempts to assure the Canadian people, profoundly disturbed by the destruction with one blow of every basic human right and liberty, that there was for a period no other recourse open to it and that now it is coming through on its promise that the enforcement of the act was only temporary and something approaching normalcy will shortly again prevail.

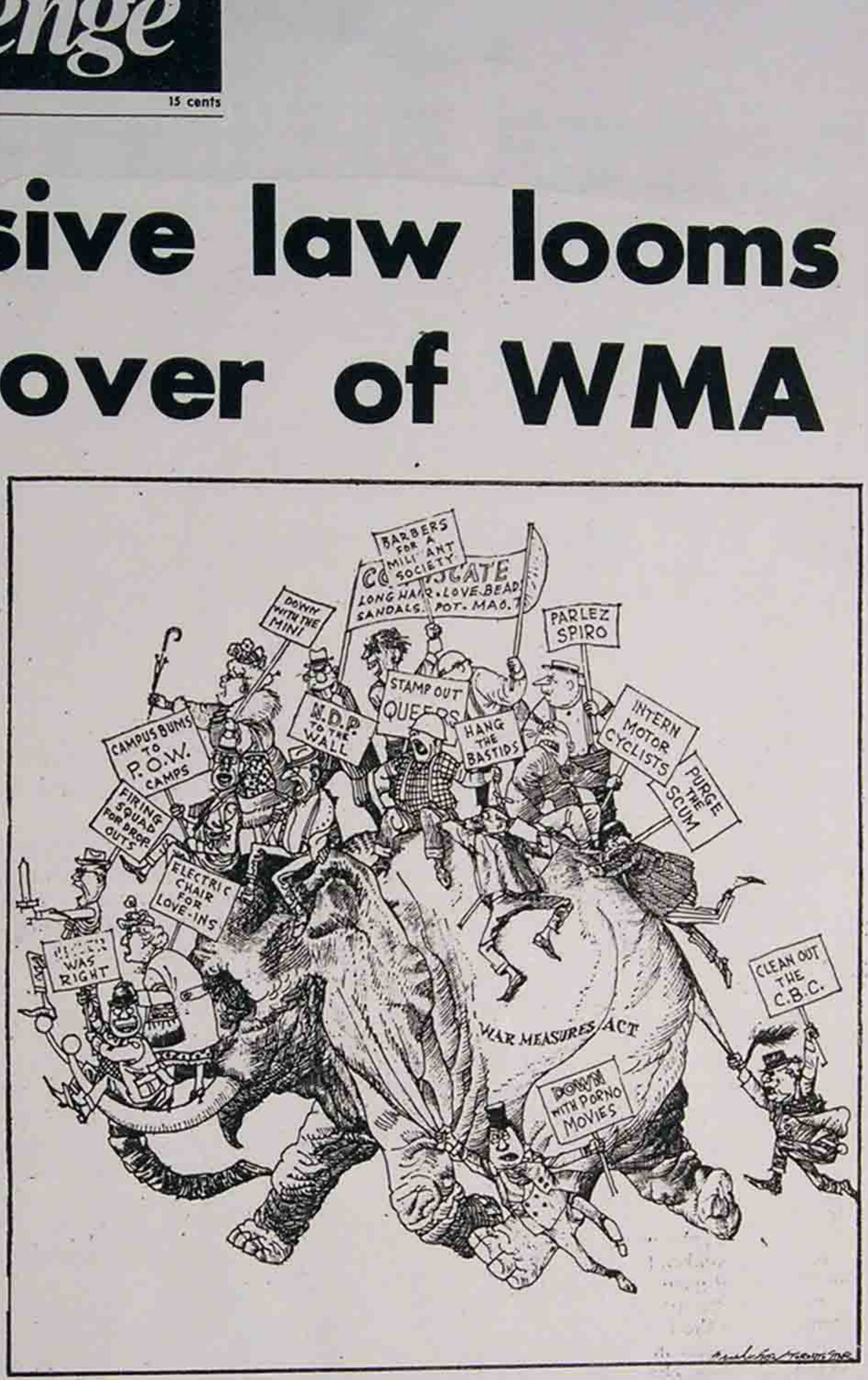
But the legislation now being introduced by Minister of Justice Turner clearly reveals that the government intends to write into the statute books some of the most repressive aspects of the War Measures Act (search and arrest without warrant, detention without charge, etc.) while leaving the act itself in reserve — even if it is no longer to be applied at this time.

All this clearly answers the question that has continued to plague ever-widening circles. Why did the Trudeau government resort to such totalitarian powers, to such an ultimate weapon as the War Measures Act? Why didn't it utilize the crushing powers already available to it in the Criminal Code and elsewhere?

The picture is clearing up. The Trudeau government sought to take advantage of the crisis thrust on it by the kidnappings and murder, first and foremost to strike a body blow against Quebec nationalism which continues to grow and develop an increasingly independentist and revolutionary character.

It seeks new and added powers to use against the Québécois.

At the same time it seeks to create a climate whereby it can turn back the campus revolt — the ongoing radicalization of the youth in the universities and the high schools. And simultaneously it is trying to prepare the conditions that would enable it to move in against the organized labor movement and render it less able to defend its interests.


BARBERS FOR A MILI ANT SOCIETY
DOWN WITH THE MINI
LONG HAIR • LOVE BEAD SANDALS • POT • MAO
PARLEZ SPIRO
STAMP OUT QUEERS
W.D.P. TO THE WALL
HANG THE BASTIDS
INTERN MOTOR CYCLISTS
PURGE THE SCUM
CAMPUS BUMS TO P.O.W. CAMPS
FIRING SQUAD FOR DROP OUTS
ELECTRIC CHAIR FOR LOVE-INS
WAS RIGHT
CLEAN OUT THE C.B.C.
WAR MEASURES ACT
DOWN WITH PORNO MOVIES

With the enactment of the War Measures Act the Minister of Justice cautioned against the settling of old scores, against excesses.

The B.C. Socred government has passed an order to council barring from employment in institutions dispensing state funds anyone alleged to support the aims of the FLQ and to advocate the overthrow of government by force and violence. This has already resulted in the firing of teacher Arthur Olson. The echo of this is found in the Toronto Board of Education. Are these excesses?

The address of W.H. Kelly, former deputy commissioner of the RCMP, to the Ottawa Canadian club has received widespread publicity over the mass media. He demanded stiffer immigration procedures to keep out or to deport foreign radicals already in the country — particularly those on the campuses.

He called for greater power for the police including the formal right to grill suspects, and freer use of wiretapping. Is that an excess?

The harassment of the cross-Canada university student press, the seizure of Maoist publications, the taking into

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custody of seven of the Vancouver Liberation Front, the persecution by the Toronto police of a draft evader to the point where he finally fled and placed himself at the mercy of U.S. authorities — are these excesses?

The self-imposed banning by CTV of a TV program because it touched on the Quebec situation. CBC's banning of a documentary on Lenin. CBC president George Davidson's order to news service employees to impose self-censorship on coverage of the Quebec crisis. Are these excesses?

Far from being excesses they are exactly what persons in high government office, spokesmen for capitalist class interest in various areas, have been advocating all along.

And they are the inevitable result of the enactment of the War Measures Act which at one blow imposed all the legal conditions for a police state: the authorizatiin by law of the police arrest and detention without warrant of anyone suspected of being a member of an unlawful organization, entry and search without warrant, detention without charge for seven days and up to 21 days on authority of an attorney general, incarceration in jail up to 90 days before a trial date need be set.

Under this act Quebec was invaded and occupied by a federal army of 7,500 men. Police raids resulted in the arrest so far of 405 persons all of whom were held incommunicado and without charge for days.

The enactment of the War Measures Act revealed in a blinding light that the much vaunted civil rights and democratic processes that are supposed to be woven into the very fabric of present day society are to all intents and purposes nonexistent.

When it was made to appear that the power of the state itself was being infringed upon, all the institutions of parliamentary democracy — Bill of Rights, Senate, House of Commons — all were cynically swept aside.

The army and the police took over on the authorization of a handful of men. With the receipt of a letter from Mr. Bourassa and another from Montreal's Mayor Drapeau drawn up two or three days earlier but dispatched to Ottawa at an agreed time, four cabinet ministers worked on documents for about an hour and dispatched them to Governor General Roland Michener who signed them.

Canada awoke the next morning under the War Measures Act and several hundred Québécois were in jail.

The custodians of our civil rights were revealed to be the collective consciousness of the people of Canada and the specific instruments that the working class above all has forged in struggle — the trade unions, the New Democratic Party and the various other currents and tendencies of the left.

After the first shock of confusion, the socialists, civil libertarians, the NDP parliamentary caucus and the unions responded to the challenge. On the broad scale the opposition of the overwhelming majority of the NDP parliamentary caucus and the united Quebec labor movement has been instrumental in arousing the wide popular concern.

That is not to say that there has been no serious weakness in both areas. The apparent agreement of the NDP MP's to go along now with the codifying of certain aspects of the War Measures Act is particularly dangerous.

The struggle must now go on. New layers must be awakened educated and activated to win the release of all the Québécois now imprisoned under the Act, to compel the withdrawal of the troops occupying Quebec and the abolition of the War Measures Act and to prevent the enactment of repressive legislation of any type.

The streets of Montreal, election day, October 25, 1970

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Discussion on nationalism, FLQ

British left views crisis in Quebec

by Ross Dowson

The world's capitalist politicians and their myriad bands of lickspittles and apologists have filled the airwaves and the press with "information" and "analyses" of the Quebec events through which a thread runs to firm support of the Trudeau government and its far-reaching repressive actions against Quebec and the people of all Canada.

At the opposite pole, revolutionary socialists across the globe have responded to the challenge through the modest means at their disposal with news and analyses, in some cases drawing conclusions relevant to the struggle in their own country, sometimes even prescribing the line of march to revolutionary socialists in Canada who might be open to their influence.

The broadest and most accurate coverage was that of the U.S. weekly Militant and Intercontinental Press, a weekly international news service. They relied heavily on information gathered by two leaders of the Socialist Workers party who flew into Montreal at the height of the crisis, interviews with Arthur Young and Penny Simpson, leading Quebec revolutionary socialists who were among the hundreds arrested on the night of the enactment of the War Measures Act and released after being held incommunicado for almost a week, and material from the regular and special issues of Labor Challenge and La Lutte Ouvrière.

For the purposes of this article we will limit our comments to the views expressed in the British daily Workers Press and the revolutionary socialist fortnightly Red Mole.

Workers Press is the daily organ of the Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League headed by Gerry Healy. This

MASS MEETING of Montreal students October 15 in support of FLQ manifesto and demands for release of political prisoners showed explosive implications of the crisis and was a prime factor in Ottawa and Quebec governments' decision to invoke War Measures Act against nationalist movement.

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group which calls itself Trotskyist, refused to participate in the reunification of the major forces of the Fourth International in 1963. Since then it has carried on a sharp mendacious running attack on the Fourth International terming it revisionist, though recently it has indulged in some maneuveristic appeals for unity.

Red Mole is a fortnightly tabloid which includes on its editorial board leading militants of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International, such as Tariq Ali, and Peter Gowan, along with Robin Blackburn.

Blackburn, an ultraleftist of international reputation, wrote an article in last April 5's Red Mole which urged an abstentionist position in the British election on the basis that the Labour party is substantially no different than the Tory party. Under the watch word Let the Labour Party Bleed he advocated, "disruption of the campaigns of the bourgeois parties. . .using all the imaginative and direct methods which the last few years have taught us." In a subsequent issue IMG secretary Pat Jordan took issue with Blackburn to state the official position of the IMG.

The Workers Press articles written by a John Spencer, and by an unidentified foreign correspondent, are teeming with factual errors which of course make it difficult for the author to form and present a correct assessment of the situation, not to speak of the confusion they cause readers. For instance, from the headline over the October 21 article, "Bonapartist Trudeau turns on CP," and the next paragraph, one would think that the Communist Party of Canada, which advocates peaceful coexistence with capitalism, was the butt of government attack. Actually the reference is to the suppression of an issue of the press of the small and incredibly ultraleft Maoist Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist).

The murdered Pierre Laporte was not Canadian labor minister but Quebec labor minister, a matter of considerable importance in understanding his being kidnapped and certain later developments. The NDP is not the National Democratic Party but the New Democratic Party, a labor party formation largely limited to English-speaking Canada, and so on.

But these are of no importance compared to the vicious slander against the government of revolutionary Cuba — a recurring phenomenon in the pages of Workers Press. The Cubans are charged with carrying a policy that is "support for Trudeau's repressive measures." The evidence? The Cubans made themselves available as intermediaries should the Canadian government decide to meet the demands of the kidnappers in return for the release of Cross and Laporte.

According to Workers Press the Cubans "said nothing about the release of the prisoners demanded by the FLQ." But why they should have is by no means clear, and how this alleged failure makes them supporters of Trudeau's repressive measures is even less clear.

But worse still is the confusion, the adventurism and/or the profound defeatism that would inevitably develop if we were to take Workers Press seriously; its declaration that Canada now languishes under the rule of a Bonapartist regime; its comments about the unlimited and unrestrained powers of the bourgeoisie; and its warnings about the extreme fragility of the rights that the working class has established under bourgeois democracy.

Not to minimize the dangers of the situation, Ottawa's slashing attack on civil rights is taking place in a period of continuing deepening and widening radicalization, and there are no signs at all that any important not to speak of qualitative change has taken place in the essential relationship of class forces. In fact everything points to Ottawa's actions shortly turning into their opposite — even adding to the process of radicalization.

While the profoundly dynamic and revolutionary character of Quebec nationalism has through these recent incidents come to the attention of the entire world, Workers Press editors have learned nothing. As the Québécois become ever more concious of their oppression as a nation they are increasingly thrust into struggles that more clearly pose the need for a revolutionary party fighting for power.

Yet Workers Press accuses the "revisionists", the League for Socialist Action/ La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, with having "shunned" the fight to build the revolutionary party by identifying themselves with the national aspirations of the Québécois, the very force that make it possible to build it. Despite this favorable opportunity, the Socialist Labour League has learned nothing about the revolutionary significance of the struggle of oppressed national minorities in our epoch.

In this respect the unsigned article appearing in the November 1-15 issue of Red Mole stands head and shoulders higher than the articles in Workers Press. The author understands that the roots of the crisis are in the oppression of Quebec as a nation by U.S. and Anglo-Canadian imperialism. The Red Mole's article is not sectarian. Unfortunately it is ultra left. Its author doesn't know where the struggle is at.

Thus in commenting on the level of political conciousness of the Quebec student movement — which is quite a different matter than its militancy — Red Mole declares that it "is a hundred times more developed than that of the English Canadian students."

Quebec students will be surprised to read as proof of this claim that "they have not minced words about Vietnam and have declared openly and publicly their solidarity with the Vietnamese revolutionaries" for it is precisely on this question that, so far, Quebec students have lagged far behind their counterparts in English-speaking Canada.

Likewise the writer doesn't understand what the FLQ is, and what its connections are with the broad developing nationalist forces. The fact that the federal army and Quebec police for all their vast powers under the WMA were not able to find either Cross or his kidnappers is presented as proof that the FLQ is well organized and undoubtedly has support. But in reality it proves just the opposite.

It is because what is called the FLQ is so tiny, has no structure and no consistent ideology and is completely divorced from all the on-going struggles, that the police were unable to find it, were unable to develop any theory as to where to pick up any trace to it, and resorted to massive raids of entire city blocks, over two months, before finding James Cross.

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International in its denunciation of the wave of repression against the people of Quebec and Canada states that "while sympathizing with the nationalist and anti-capitalist sentiments of the FLQ, revolutionary socialists do not think that in the present context of Canada such actions (as the kidnappings and the killing of Laporte) are the correct means to bring about a mass struggle for an independent socialist Quebec."

But by no means is that the view expressed by Red Mole. While at one point it states that "we understand that individual terrorism is not the answer" it qualifies this statement by continuing "but it is not our task to lecture the militants from a distance," and precedes it with the words; "we support the means they (the Quebecois) use to achieve this aim" (of national self-determination.)

". . The killing of hostages or kidnapping is not a question of principle; it is purely a tactical question," to be sure. But as a tactical question it is by no means of minor importance. It is absurd to relate Marx's justification of the defensive terror of the

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Commune of Paris, the first attempt in history of a revolutionary working class to seize and hold power, to the individual acts of terror perpetrated by a tiny handful of Québécois completely outside of the *developing mass struggle of the Québécois* and cutting right across it.

And it is completely irrelevant to note that the struggle for socialism "even when the working class moves into action and poses the question of state power" — "is not going to be a nice dinner party" and will be "a hard and bloody struggle."

The Red Mole article commences with a lengthy quotation by Leon Trotsky where he rejects any concept that individual terror is permissible or impermissible from a "pure morals" point of view and where he expresses his "sympathies" with terrorists in their struggle against national and political oppression.

But this is far from sufficient to explain Trotsky's, the revolutionary socialist, position on individual terror. To the above it is necessary to add a further statement by Trotsky: "Individual terrorism in our eyes is inadmissible — precisely for the reason that it lowers the masses in their own consciousness, reconciles them to impotence and directs their glances and hopes towards the great avenger and emancipator who will some day come and accomplish this mission. . ."

"If a pinch of powder and a slug of lead are ample to shoot the enemy through the neck, where is the need of a class organization ... what need is there for a party? What is the need of meetings, mass agitation, elections?" asks Trotsky.

Exactly. Insofar as the handful of persons who identify themselves as FLQ have articulated any theory it is a mélange of ideas, all of which reject all of the forms under which the real struggle is now unfolding in Quebec. It is the concept of guerrilla actions undertaken by small groups, that are supposed to terrorize the bourgeoisie, render capitalist society inoperative and open the way to a change in power, or to spark the working class, already poised, into massive and decisive action — any and every theory that is substitutist for the class and for the building of mass action.

Needless to say the kidnappings and the murder committed in the name of the FLQ have achieved, as could be foreseen, none of the results desired by their perpetrators. Far from embarrassing the government and bringing it to the brink they have served to strengthen its hand. They have neither inspired nor mobilized the Québécois, other than the forces of conservatism behind Drapeau in the Montreal civic elections.

Veteran socialist, George Faulkner dies in Cuba at 97

by Ross Dowson

Back in 1962 — he was then 89 years of age — George Faulkner told a correspondent for the Workers Vanguard, "I've agitated for the socialist system here for over half a century and I went down to Cuba and looked it straight in the face. The trip cost me $500 but it was worth a million."

With that trip, after a lifetime as a miner and farmer in the Canadian West, George commenced a new life — in Cuba. Inspired by the revolution he went not to talk socialism, nor to benefit from the achievements of the Cuban people, but to contribute in a very real way — through his knowledge of animal husbandry and grain growing — to Cuba and the cause of the world revolution.

On the 11th day of last month after a fall in which he broke his hip, he died there, at the age of 97.

Between 1961 and 1970 George made several return trips to Canada. These were always interesting experiences for everyone who met him. He became a tireless publicist for the varied achievements of the revolution. Besides serving to renew his acquaintance with his comrades around the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and the League for Socialist Action these trips also had a more immediate purpose.

In 1963 he returned on behalf of the Cuban government to purchase an experimental flock of sheep which he accompanied right across the country and on board ship to Cuba.

In 1969 he returned to purchase various types of seed to plant on land that the Cuban government had allocated to his use for experimental purposes.

This year's trip proved too hard on him and after a week in hospital he returned to Cuba with two of his daughters.

George became a socialist early in his youth. He joined the fighting Western Federation of Miners and the Socialist Party of Canada before the turn of the century.

He came in contact with Bolshevism, with the concepts of Lenin and Trotsky, through a close friendship he formed some 50 years ago in the course of a strike at the Marcus coal mines. But later as a farmer in the Edmonton area he became generally removed from the ongoing political struggle.

George found himself, relived his youth, in the rebirth of the world revolution signaled by the Cuban victory. His example will not be forgotten by all those who met him both in Canada and in Cuba.

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'U.S.A.'--high point of radical literature

The British publishers, Penguin Books, have just issued a new edition of a gargantuan work of fiction with the challenging and what might appear somewhat pretentious title — U.S.A. And it is with considerable surprise for those already acquainted with this work (the final novel that makes up this trilogy appeared back in 1936) to learn that its author, John Dos Passos, died only last September.

Dos Passos, 40 years of age when **42nd Parallel** appeared, was then at the zenith of his creative power. While he continued to work on a voluminous scale up until his death, he wrote nothing more of significance. But this work alone, not counting those immediately preceding it, is enough to establish him as a literary giant of our time. U.S.A. is no ordinary book. It is all that its title suggests. It is U.S.A. — the great American novel.

It cannot be approached with the ordinary tools of literary criticism and appreciation. It is too vast and kaleidoscopic. In the field of the novel it is useless to compare it to its contemporaries — to the works of Faulkner, Hemmingway, Wolfe, even Dreiser or Proust and Joyce. Beside it, their works appear as single shots to the cinerama scope, as quartets or orchestral suites to the full bodied pulsating symphony that Dos Passos orchestrated and conducted to portray U.S.A.

To remain in the field of the contemporary novel one would have to compare it to Theodore Plievier's awesome trilogy on World War II, **Moscow, Stalingrad** and **Berlin** — so far a vastly neglected work but the most significant to come out of this world-engulfing cataclysmic experience. But to really do justice to it one has to go back to Honoré de Balzac and his magnificent panoramic study of his times — the 20 or so novels that constitute **The Human Comedy.**

Karl Marx had occasion to say that one could not learn nearly so much from all the political economists about the inner workings of European society of his day as one could from the novels of Balzac.

Better still. To place the genius of this work in its times one should step outside the area of literary expression and compare it to the panorama of the struggles and aspirations of the peoples of Mexico, and of all Latin America, that Diego Rivera mixed into his frescos that move out of the walls of Mexico City's municipal buildings, or to the realism and vitality of the architectural achievements and concepts of France's Le Corbusier.

Dos Passos' masterpiece like theirs is the creation, the product of the great conflict of our times — the decay and the destructive capacity of the outmoded capitalist system, thrashing wildly about in its death throes, and the birth pangs, the agonies and the promises of the new socialist world order.

As a youth Dos Passos saw World War I from the ambulance corps — until he was shipped back home for his outspoken anti-war views. He returned to an America that was experiencing a colossal post-war expansion, to an America of the production line, of Taylorism and the speed-up, that was soon to collapse in the 1929 depression — into America of the breadlines and the box-car vag, moving back and forth across the continent, searching, hungry, desolate, the face of its vastness, magnificence and promise.

Sensitive, and with an insatiable appetite for experiences, Dos Passos participated in the angry outbursts against these conditions. He marched in the protests against the frame-up of Sacco and Vanzetti, he worked on the Scottsboro defense case and wrote for the literary magazines and drama groups that found their chief inspiration in the great October Revolution.

In his U.S.A. the individual participants in the American drama act out their parts in all their diversity, not against a static backdrop but as an integral part of the whole drama immersed in the total complexities that are America. To portray the total America, to outline its driving forces Dos Passos worked out some literary devises that are by no means mechanical. Cutting into the story the Newsreel injects the headlines, the popular songs, the jokes and wisecracks of the moment — the Camera Eye's streams of consciousness — the brilliant summary portraits ranging from Eugene W. Debs, Bill Haywood to Henry Ford, Rockefeller, Rudolph Valentino and Isadora Duncan — all combine to give depth, scope and dynamism t to the portrait that is the

Joining the flood of exiles returning to Petrograd in 1917, Trotsky wrote that he left America "with the feeling of a man who has had only a peep into the foundry in which the fate of man is to be forged." More than any other work of fiction so far, Dos Passos' U.S.A. opens the door into that foundry.

While rebellious, strident, dynamic America swept Dos Passos up in its radical path, like the majority of the intellectuals of his time he never assimilated

John Dos Passos

the essential theory of revolutionary socialism and became hopelessly disoriented when Stalinism corrupted wide sectors of the left and even brought the USSR itself to the brink of destruction. He ended up in the camp of Goldwater and the National Review.

But he left us U.S.A. — an imperishable monument of the radical wave that swept over America in the thirties. The new wave has yet to find any comparable cultural expression. So far we have only a glimpse from some of Kerouac, in Ginsberg's **Howl** and the earlier songs of Dylan — but only a glimpse.

by R.D.